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THE WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

VOLUME X

Benjamin Franklin
From a portrait which originally belonged to Franklin.
Which was presented by Earl Grey to the United States in 1906

THE WRITINGS
OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

COLLECTED AND EDITED
WITH A LIFE AND INTRODUCTION
BY
ALBERT HENRY SMYTH

VOLUME X
1789–1790

WITH A LIFE AND INDEX

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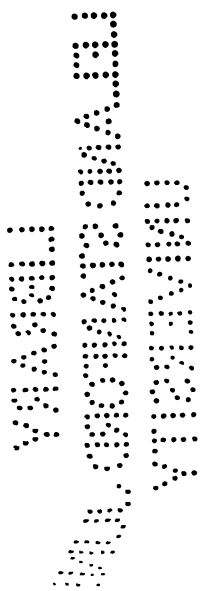

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PREFACE

SINCE the appearance of the first volume of this edition so many new documents have been discovered by the diligent investigations of scholars, and generously furnished from private collections, that it has become an embarrassing problem to include both the new and the old within the limits of the work as originally proposed. I have been forced reluctantly to abandon my cherished plan of a comprehensive biography of Franklin, and to content myself with a more meagre outline of the story of his life. The publication of his works in their original integrity is the object of first importance, and to that end all other causes must give way. Moreover, Franklin's writings are his best biography, a fact recognized by Mr. Bigelow, who, in his "Life of Franklin," has allowed the great man through his Memoirs and his correspondence — "almost miraculously preserved from incalculable perils" — to tell his own story. In the sketch of personal and political history contained in the present volume, I have been as brief as was consistent with clearness, because I have had small space at my command, and because it has seemed unnecessary to quote from documents which exist in the previous volumes of this work.

In the writing of the biography I have been chiefly indebted to the late lamented Henri Doniol, whose monumental work, "Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique," is one of the triumphs of histori-

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cal research. "The Life of Franklin," by James Parton, is a work of much labour and learning which has fallen into unmerited neglect. I have found the Vicomte de Noailles' "Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique" frequently helpful.

The second centenary of the birth of Franklin was made in 1906 the occasion of extraordinary honours and unprecedented commemorations. Anniversary feasts and elaborate celebrations continued in ever increasing interest in many parts of America, from their beginning in the first week of the year until their stately culmination in the august proceedings of the month of April in Paris and the splendid ceremonials of the same time in Philadelphia. The State of Pennsylvania made a liberal appropriation to The American Philosophical Society to defray the cost of the latter celebration, at which one hundred and twenty-seven societies and institutions of learning in Europe and America were represented. A gold medal, designed by Louis and Augustus St. Gaudens, was struck by order of Congress and presented, under the direction of the President of the United States, to the Republic of France.

In Paris a statue of Franklin, the gift of Mr. John H. Harjes, was unveiled at the entrance into the Place du Trocadéro of the rue Franklin, on which the philosopher and statesman dwelt during his stay at Passy. Two ex-presidents of the French Republic and one of the United States, distinguished officials and diplomatists of world-wide fame, constituted a Committee of Honour to add brilliancy to the fête. The celebration took place in the *salle des êtes* of the Palace of the Trocadéro in the presence of nearly five thousand persons and almost all the high officials of the French government and the ministers and ambassadors of foreign powers. A distinguished French orator and cabinet minister was chosen

by the French government to deliver a eulogy, and the editor of this work was appointed by President Roosevelt as the spokesman of the United States. I have drawn occasionally in the course of this volume upon my oration delivered upon that occasion, and I have sometimes quoted from a series of articles upon "Franklin's Social Life in France," contributed by me to *Putnam's Monthly*, for, as the old Greek proverb runs, δὶς δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται.

In the preface to the first volume I announced the publication of a manuscript by Franklin relating to the early American plantations. It is a document of the year 1731, and is, next to the Autobiography, the most extensive yet found in Franklin's handwriting. It was discovered among the papers recently acquired by the University of Pennsylvania. Further research has resulted in the discovery that it was really written by James Logan and was a memorial sent by him to Robert Walpole. It is a document of much interest and singularly wise and prophetic, but as it is demonstrably not by Franklin it does not appear in this work. Another promise, I regret to say, remains unfulfilled. The most diligent search has failed to find the letter in Cremona written by Franklin to Lorenzo Manini (Vol. I, p. 12). My friend Signor Novati, the distinguished scholar of Milan, a native of Cremona, personally assisted the librarian in the search; but they have been obliged to conclude that the precious document has been lost or stolen from the library.

One instance of the duplication of an article appears in Volume IX; number 1482 and number 1491 (pp. 174 and 189) are identical. The first of these had already been printed from Mr. Bigelow's edition when the original letter was found in the British Museum and it is here faithfully

copied. It will be noticed that the letter was actually written three weeks later than the date hitherto ascribed to it.

Certain spurious letters of Franklin exist, and have occasionally, as in the Vraine-Lucas forgeries, deceived the editors of his works. Such a letter is found in "Joseph and Benjamin, a Conversation, translated from a French Manuscript" (printed at the logographic press for J. Murray, No. 32, Fleet Street, 1787), in which, writing from Boston, under date of May 27, 1786, to the Emperor Joseph, Franklin proposes to invite one of the sons of the king of England to be king of America. Two fictitious letters are in "La Cassette Verte de M. Sartine, trouvée chez Mademoiselle du Thé" (à la Haye, 1779). One of these is in French (p. 33); the other, likewise addressed to M. de Sartine, is in English and concludes: "I am insulted in all the languages of Europe. My religion is satirized in Italian. My politics in Spanish and Dutch. I hear Washington ridiculed in Russian, and myself in all the jargon of Germany. I cannot bear it. Make Europe civil to America, or I'll follow *Silas Deane*."

It is often said that the famous song, *ça ira*, of the French Revolution had its origin with Benjamin Franklin, and the statement has been as often denied (see Vol. X, pp. 362–363). In a little book entitled "Inauguration de la Maison commune d'Auteuil, Paris, Imprimerie du Cercle Social" (1792), it is told that upon the opening of the new *mairée*, or *maison commune* of Auteuil, in August, 1792, the effigies of great men were carried in procession from the old house to the new, and that a band of music accompanied the bust of Franklin, playing, by order of the municipal agent, M. Pierre Antoine Benoit, the air of *ça ira*.

A debated incident in the later life of Franklin I have not mentioned. A college in Pennsylvania, having taken his name, received a munificent gift from him, and it is said that he actually made the journey to Lancaster to attend the laying of the corner stone. No record of that visit exists at what is now Franklin and Marshall College. The ceremonies attending the inauguration were in 1787, and Franklin was then suffering so severely from gout and stone that an expedition to the State House, an eighth of a mile from his home, was a formidable enterprise. He could not ride in a carriage even before his return from Paris, and he was carried from that city to Havre upon a litter. He was borne about in Philadelphia in 1788 in a sedan chair, and he regretted that he had not brought with him to America a balloon which, held captive in a servant's hand, would have furnished him with the easiest locomotion. No jot of evidence exists that he was ever out of Philadelphia after he entered the city amid the acclamations of his fellow-townsmen upon his return from France, nor does it seem within the bounds of possibility that he could have endured a journey of seventy miles in a carriage over the rough roads of Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, Crèvecœur relates in his "Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie" (Vol. I, p. 26), that he accompanied Franklin upon his visit to Lancaster, and that upon the day of the ceremony one of the principal inhabitants of the town inquired concerning the origin of the Indian tribes and asked whether they were really autochthonous, whereupon Franklin discoursed upon the mounds and fortifications of the ancient people of the country. It is at least a curious coincidence that in a letter written February 2, 1788, the duc de la Rochefoucauld told Franklin that he had received from Crèvecœur

an account of ancient fortifications discovered at the confluence of the Muskingum and the Ohio. Abbé Morellet, in a letter dated July 31, 1787, refers to the Lancaster ceremonies, but it appears that Franklin had sent to him a pamphlet printed upon the occasion and descriptive of the event.

"In the dedication of your college in the County of Lancaster," writes Morellet, "and the fine procession, and the religious ceremony, where were met together Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Catholics, Moravians, *e tutti quanti*, there was toleration in practice. I have translated the whole of the pamphlet which you sent me and had it inserted in our *Mercury*."

Crèvecœur was a truthful man, and it is to be hoped that some lucky find will clear away the doubt and obscurity that gather about the journey to Lancaster.

It will be noticed that I have adopted throughout these volumes the Austrian way of spelling the name of INGENHOUSZ. In the published works of that distinguished philosopher, and in the authorized translations of them, the name is spelled INGEN HOUSZ. He signed himself INGENHOUSZ, and sometimes in familiar letters J. HOUSZ. A descendant of this illustrious man, Dr. Oskar, Freiherr von Mitis, an official of the *K. und K. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv*, with great and generous kindness, sent me a strange manuscript volume entitled "Consultatio Medica super proprium morbum autographa Benjamini Franklin ad joannem Ingenhousz." The volume contains two manuscripts, the first consisting of seventy-six pages and containing about seventeen thousand words. The second is an amplification and extension of the first and written in an almost microscopic hand, its seventy

pages containing not less than seventy-eight thousand words. The first part — *Caput I. De Natura Morbi* — is in the handwriting of the elder Jacquin, Nikolaus Josef, the celebrated botanist. The second part, beginning *Pathologiæ Pars prima*, is believed in Germany to have been written either by Ingenhousz, the uncle of Jacquin, or by Franklin. Upon the paper cover is written "Has immortalis viri reliquias sociis et amicis religiose asservandas tradit" (signed) *Jacquin*. Freiherr von Mitis assures me that this is unquestionably in the handwriting of Jacquin, and that there can be no doubt of his love of truth. The cover is slightly scorched, for the manuscript was rescued from the fire, together with a few other papers, in 1848 by Karl von Schreiber, son-in-law of Jacquin. Since 1852 this mysterious volume has been in the possession of the family of Von Mitis, and although it has been frequently examined no information has been obtained concerning its origin. It corresponds with no known writing of Ingenhousz or Franklin. It is identical with no other manuscript. And yet the testimony of Jacquin is precise and reverent, and the document has never departed from the descendants of Ingenhousz.

Information concerning the identity of the Bishop of Tricomia, to whom Franklin addressed a letter dated April 22, 1777, reached me too late to be printed in its proper place (Vol. VII, p. 43). The information kindly supplied by Monsignor Veccia, secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome, was obtained from the Archives of the Propaganda. The Bishop is there named "Revmus Pater Dominus Petrus Joseph Perreau Bisuntinæ [Besançon] Dioccesios electus Episcopus Tricomien: in Consistorio diei 17 Juliis 1775 — da Pio VI Braschi."

In the Appendix to Volume V (p. 553), I have printed Franklin's "Observations on Maize or Indian Corn." In a footnote I stated that the date of its composition was unknown. I have since learned from a letter in the collection of The American Philosophical Society that it was written in the spring of 1785, and sent to the famous French chemist, Cadét de Vaux, for publication in the *Journal de Paris*, — "I send herewith some Observations on the Use of that Grain, of which you are at Liberty to make such Use as you may think proper" (April 28, 1785).

I have not attempted to prepare a list of misprints, and most of those that I have noted are so obvious that they scarcely need correction. But the mind plays us sometimes sorry tricks. In the carefully and frequently read proof-sheets of Mrs. Cowden-Clarke's "Concordance to Shakespeare," a notable error escaped the watchful eyes of all the practised readers: "I Pandulph of fair Milan *Cardinal*" became and remained by the power of pictorial suggestion resident in the name of the fair Italian city, — "of fair Milan *cathedral*." By a like tyranny of historic suggestion the name of Nemours called to mind memories of that lofty line of French nobles, and in the preface to my first volume Dupont de Nemours, "physiocrat" and accomplished gentleman, was invested with the titular dignity of the dukes of Nemours, an honour which neither his high abilities or his personal worth required to secure for him a high and an abiding station in the file of mankind.

Twenty portraits of Franklin have appeared in this work. They form an interesting though small collection of his many counterfeit presentments. After Napoleon and Washington no great public character has been so often and diversely

portrayed. Not less than six hundred portraits of him exist. He told his daughter that medallions and pictures, busts and prints, had made her father's face as well known as that of the moon, so that he durst not do anything that would oblige him to run away, as his phiz would discover him wherever he should venture to show it. He added, "it is said by learned etymologists that the name *doll* for the images children play with, is derived from the word IDOL. From the number of *dolls* now made of him, he may be truly said, *in that sense* to be *i-doll-ized* in this country." And yet he was reluctant to yield to the solicitations of artists; he told Digges that he was "perfectly sick" of sitting for his portrait, and that he knew nothing so tedious as sitting for hours in one fixed position. He was constantly asked for his portrait, and in reply to such a query from his friend Fournier, he said that he was neither so rich or so vain as to pay eight or ten louis apiece to give them as presents.

His own favourites were the portraits made by Duplessis (Vol. I) and Chamberlin (Vol. IV). The former was originally painted for M. Le Ray de Chaumont; numerous copies of it exist, one of which was purchased by Mr. Bigelow from the descendants of M. le Veillard. The Chamberlin portrait has been often copied and has suffered many changes. A copy of it was prefixed to the French edition of Franklin's works in 1773, and its Gallic features caused Franklin to write to his wife that "though a copy of that of Chamberlin [it] has got so French a countenance that you would take me for one of that lively nation."

Caleb Whitefoord, who himself had drawn a picture of Franklin which the subject of the sketch declared was "black and all black," gave a commission in 1782 to Joseph Wright

to paint a portrait which he presented to the Royal Society. This portrait was lent to Benjamin West to enable him to transfer the likeness of Franklin to the large canvas upon which he was painting the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace.

The portrait by David Martin, which is the frontispiece to the second volume, was painted in London when Franklin was about sixty years of age. It was ordered and paid for by Robert Alexander of the house of William Alexander & Sons of Edinburgh. After the death of Robert it descended to his brother William, whose daughter married Jonathan Williams, grand nephew of Franklin. It is now in the possession of Henry Williams Biddle, Esq., of Philadelphia. Franklin was so well satisfied with the portrait that he caused a copy to be made by the same artist at his own expense, and it was sent to his family in Philadelphia. By his will he bequeathed it to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. A copy made by Charles Willson Peale is owned by The American Philosophical Society.

The portrait of greatest historical interest is that which appears as the frontispiece to this volume. It was painted by Benjamin Wilson in London in 1759. Its history is explained in the following Correspondence, which was read by Hon. Joseph H. Choate, April 20, 1906, at the American Academy of Music, in Philadelphia, when the portrait was first shown after its return to America.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
"OTTAWA, February 7, 1906.

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The fortune of war and the accident of inheritance have made me the owner of the portrait of Franklin which Major André took out of his house

in Philadelphia and gave to his Commanding Officer, my great grandfather, General Sir Charles Grey. This portrait, which Franklin stated was 'allowed by those who have seen it to have great merit as a picture in every respect,' has for over a century occupied the chief place of honour on the walls of my Northumbrian home. Mr. Choate has suggested to me that the approaching Franklin Bicentennial Celebration at Philadelphia on April 20, provides a fitting opportunity for restoring to the American people a picture which they will be glad to recover. I gladly fall in with his suggestion.

"In a letter from Franklin written from Philadelphia, October 23, 1788, to Madame Lavoisier, he says: 'Our English enemies when they were in possession of this city and my home, made a prisoner of my portrait and carried it off with them.'

"As your English friend, I desire to give my prisoner, after the lapse of 130 years, his liberty, and shall be obliged if you will name the officer into whose custody you wish me to deliver him. If agreeable to you, I should be much pleased if he should find a final resting-place in the White House, but I leave this to your judgement.

"I remain with great respect and in all friendship,

"Yours truly,

"GREY."

"THE WHITE HOUSE,
"WASHINGTON, February 12, 1906.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY: I shall send up an officer to receive that portrait, and I cannot sufficiently thank you for your thoughtful and generous gift. The announcement shall be made by Mr. Choate at the time and place you suggest. I shall then formally thank you for your great and thoughtful

courtesy. Meanwhile let me say privately how much I appreciate not only what you have done, but the spirit in which you have done it, and the way in which the manner of doing it adds to the generosity of the gift itself. I shall have placed on the portrait, which shall, of course, be kept at the White House as you desire, the circumstances of its taking and return. With heartiest regard,

"Sincerely yours,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

When Sir Edward Newenham obtained a bust of Franklin, the court papers said it was really a bust of Lord Chancellor Newport, for it was well known that Franklin was too poor to sit for a bust. Upon the continent the truth was better known, and Houdon and Caffieri had chiselled in marble the features of Franklin. Gustavus III, while dwelling *incognito* in Paris as Count de Haga, purchased a bust to take to Sweden to place beside the busts of Diderot and d'Alembert. From the clay of the Chaumont estate upon the Loire, an odd looking, dwarfish Italian, Nini by name, made medallions, the first of the kind produced in France, of which incredible numbers were sold. Some were set in the lids of snuff-boxes, some were so small as to be worn in rings. The Empress Catherine, of Russia, procured one of the largest size to place in the palace at St. Petersburg.

I must draw attention here to the exceedingly interesting statuette, two views of which are given in Volume V. It was commended to the attention of Mr. Bigelow by its possessor, Madame Guérin de Vaux. Her father, M. Fournier des Orvres, was the great grandson of Fournier le Jeune, printer and type founder. In her letter to Mr. Bigelow she wrote (March 10, 1904): "Fournier le Jeune was very intimate

with Franklin. At the time of my birth, there still existed letters which they had exchanged and particularly the one which had accompanied the sending of the statue. Unhappily they have been lost since and I am sorry to be unable to send you any written proof of their relations. Other reproductions of the statue possibly exist as I know for certain that some statues of the same kind have been sometimes made — several in number. I know indeed two statuettes of Voltaire of the same type and which are like each other. [M. d'Allemagne's collection and Musée Carnavalet in Paris.] These statues are made of a white paste, gesso, or other composition; they have been moulded and painted. The hair of the one we possess is certainly real hair of the great Franklin, which has been stuck; the letter I named before mentioned it. The connoisseur M. d'Allemagne declares them of German workmanship." Upon merely circumstantial evidence Mr. Bigelow is disposed to ascribe the statuette to Jean Baptiste Nini.

The bust reproduced as the frontispiece of the third volume is there erroneously said to be by Houdon. It was really the work of Jean Jacques Caffieri, who sculptured the statue of St. Satyre and made the monument of General Montgomery, now in St. Paul's Church, New York. Because he had made gratuitously a bust of Franklin he founded thereon his presumption to be employed by Congress to execute a statue of General Washington. One of his busts of Franklin was given to Sir Edward Newenham, another to M. Le Roy, and one was taken to Spain by Carmichael. Houdon also made his bust of Franklin gratuitously and sent Franklin four copies in plaster. In a rather testy correspondence with W. T. Franklin, Caffieri declared that if Houdon had preceded him

he would have had delicacy about working after him, and he censured the Franklins for allowing Houdon to make a bust after the success that had crowned Caffieri's endeavour. It has frequently been said that the Caffieri bust was the work of Ceracchi. But Franklin's acquaintance with Ceracchi, who was but twenty-four years old when Franklin left France, was confined to a brief correspondence with Ingenhousz, who, on behalf of Count Lacy, a great favourite of the Austrian Emperor, had written to Franklin to ask whether it would be wise for Ceracchi to visit America to seek employment in making monuments.

I have already in this preface referred to an interesting incident in which a bust of Franklin played a part during the French Revolution. Another episode of 1793 is told by Haliday in a letter to Lord Charlemont. A riot had taken place in Belfast, and his Majesty's Light Dragoons, according to the writer, had run amuck: "Had they confined themselves to their less heroic feats of breaking windows and pulling down signs — heads which were much respected by all but slaves and tyrants when they were put up and that in such obscure corners that scarcely any of us had ever heard that such things were — it might have been endured. Mirabeau and Dumourier fell, but the venerable Franklin, from his greater elevation, and being well fortified with 'robur et aes triplex' baffled their gallant efforts." (Hist. Mss. Comm. 13 Rep. App. Pt. VIII.)

Besides paintings and busts and prints numerous miniatures enrich public and private collections. One superb example of the art — the work of J. S. Duplessis — has descended through a daughter of Sarah Bache to its present possessor in Philadelphia. Jeremiah Meyer undertook to

make a minature, but his dilatoriness elicited from Franklin the following hitherto unpublished note, the irony of which must be my excuse for printing it in this place.

"Dr. Franklin presents his compliments to Mr. Meyer, and prays him not to detain any longer the Picture from which he was to make a miniature but return it by the Bearer. Hopes Mr. Meyer will not think him impatient as he has waited full five years and seen many of his Acquaintance tho' applying later, serv'd before him. Wishes Mr. Meyer not to give himself the Trouble of making any more Apologies or to feel the least Pain on Acc^{t} of his disappointing Dr. Franklin who assures him, he never was disappointed by him but once, not having for several Years past since he has known the Character of his Veracity, had the smallest dependance upon it."

And now when I should take leave of my task I linger reluctant to speak a final farewell until I shall have added a word of comment upon the character of the man whose monument has here been built. His praise has indeed been spoken widely and warmly in the twelvemonth just completed, but the voice of detraction and of harsh censure has not been altogether silenced. The fulness of praise is still in many places and in many ways withheld from him. In Philadelphia, the city of his second birth, an hereditary hostility, derived unconsciously from the ancient proprietary feud, still exists, and opposes to the fame of Franklin an attitude of serious censure or contemptuous indifference. In England he is classified with those politicians who are merely "smart" — obtuse of conscience and wily to the verge of chicane. His moral lapses have been eagerly exaggerated

and relentlessly condemned, though they were freely confessed and fully regretted by him. His autobiography has been styled the history of a rogue. Lewdness, irreligion, and sophistry are unsparingly ascribed to him. His faults were with few exceptions such as are "companions noted and most known to youth and liberty." He frankly acknowledged them and set forth a deep repentance. He begot one illegitimate child, whom he acknowledged and educated, and for whom he did everything that love and duty could perform. When that son repeated the parental fault and begat a bastard son in England, Franklin obliged him to rear his child with the same wise care and affection, nor would he tolerate his introduction in America under a false or foreign name.

In a letter to Ezra Stiles, another to Madame Brillon, and a third to Joseph Huey, he has professed with characteristic clearness beliefs that could only belong to a reverent and religious mind. His creed was simple and steadfast. He believed in God and that he should be worshipped; he held unfaltering faith in immortality; and in the conduct of life he advised the imitation of Jesus and Socrates. "I look upon death," he wrote to George Whatley, "to be as necessary to our constitution as sleep. We shall rise refreshed in the morning."

Throughout his life his burdens were heavy, his anxieties often distressing, and he suffered much pain. He retained, however, a cheerful temper, for his habitual mood was kindly and tolerant. Bad temper, he was wont to say, is the uncleanliness of the mind. He had a talent for happiness, and he told Nicholas Collin that all the griefs and sufferings of this world are but as the momentary pricking of a pin in comparison with the total happiness of our existence.

He was not one of the pure and high spirits who lead the life of the soul and by lustrous example allure mankind to lofty lives. He pursued the objects of ambition upon a lower level. He was a companionable philosopher whose feet were always well poised upon the substantial earth, and whose eyes rested upon practical material advantages. His ideal was a life of thrift, husbandry, comfort, worldly caution and rational enjoyment. Yet he had his large visions, too, of growth and expansion and power. He zealously fed and trimmed the guiding lamps that shed their beams upon the dark and dangerous ways upon which the young Republic began its tremendous career. He listened to the tread of the coming generations, and rejoiced to see "how grows the day of human power." No disaster or depression could shake his firm faith in the vast future of America. The whole continent was his colonial home. "What is your occupation?" was the question asked of him at his examination before the House of Commons. He replied, "I am deputy postmaster general of *North America*." When in desperate straits for money, alarmed and dismayed by the unceasing drafts of Congress, and the ever present dread of the collapse of all American credit, he was told that Spain would lend money on condition that America should agree to remain within the Alleghany Mountains, he exclaimed in sudden anger, and with prophetic fire: "Poor as we are, yet as I know we shall be rich I would rather agree with them to buy at a great price the whole of their right in the Mississippi than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbour might as well ask me to sell my street door!"

He loved England, and his dearest friends were in Great Britain, but there seems never to have been absent from his

mind a sense of the latent might of the colonies, and a vision of the giant things to come at large and the inevitable shifting of the seat and centre of power to the western shore of the Atlantic. When his life was drawing to its painful end, he looked upon the portentous events then happening about him — the framing and adoption of a Constitution and the creation of the first machinery of government — and uttered warnings which deserve the serious attention of his countrymen in the second century after his death. More than once he declared that the chief peril he saw in America arose not from an excess of authority in the governors, but from a deficiency of obedience in the governed. He saw also, as he thought, a disposition to commence an aristocracy, by giving the rich a predominance in government, and he besought his countrymen to beware of the perils of luxury and the menace of inordinate wealth.

In nothing did he show his typical American character more clearly than in his power of prompt assimilation of new ideas and ready adaptation to novel circumstances. He was a man of the frontier, with all the resourcefulness and hardiness of the pioneer. He was free of sectarianism and of sectionalism. Unfettered by provincial limitations, he was capable of entering with alacrity into a new orbit. Sainte Beuve declared him to be the most French of all Americans. It is a remarkable illustration of his extraordinary mobility of mind. But while he was sensitive to each breath and wind of change and progress, he stood firmly by institutions and methods authenticated by history and whose worth was proved by ripe and safe experience. He shared Burke's detestation of innovations that recklessly uprooted what was old, and wrought destructions in the name of reform. "Purify with-

out destroying" was his oft-repeated political maxim, which might well have been a motto for the library of Edmund Burke.

A few months before his death he referred to new and dangerous theories that seemed to be entering the State, and said, "I hope that our representatives in the Convention will not hastily go into these Innovations, but take the advice of the Prophet, '*Stand in the old ways, view the ancient Paths, consider them well, and be not among those that are given to Change.*'"

When he was fifty years old he wrote to George Whitefield: "Life like a dramatic Piece should not only be conducted with Regularity, but methinks it should finish handsomely. Being now in the last Act I begin to cast about for something fit to end with. Or if mine be more properly compar'd to an Epigram, as some of its few lines are but barely tolerable, I am very desirous of concluding with a bright point." Thirty-four years of busy life were still before him when he wrote those words. Great honours and blessings were in store for him. But the "brightest points" in the brilliant epigram of his life are those that tell of his supreme devotion to the welfare of his country. He abandoned cherished ambitions and sacrificed personal ease to bear the burdens of a nation. Twice he braved personal ruin and risked his entire fortune at critical moments of his country's history. He became personally responsible to the farmers of Pennsylvania and Maryland to recompense them for their horses and wagons when they declined to accept the security of Braddock. And in later years he pledged himself to pay for all the tea destroyed in Boston Harbour if the government of England would but subscribe to suitable terms

of reconciliation with the colonies. When he left America to enter upon his service as commissioner in France, the rumour was rife in England that he had deserted a forlorn cause. His malicious critics had grossly misread the character of the man whose last act upon quitting the home that he might never see again was to lend to the Congress his entire available fortune, between three and four thousand pounds.

It is a pleasure to add to the list of those to whom at the beginning of this work I confessed my obligations the name of M. Lionel de Crèvecœur, who generously brought to me in Paris a large and interesting collection of private papers belonging to his great grandfather Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecœur. I am also deeply indebted to Dr. John L. Haney and Mr. Howard C. Myers, who have assisted me in the reading of proofs, and to Mr. Raymond M. Fulforth, who has helped in the preparation of the index.

A. H. S.

JANUARY 29, 1907.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. P. S.	American Philosophical Society.
B. M.	British Museum.
B. N.	Bibliothèque Nationale.
D. S. W.	Department of State, Washington.
H.	Harvard University.
L. C.	Library of Congress.
L. L.	Lenox Library.
Lans.	Lansdowne House.
M. H. S.	Massachusetts Historical Society.
P. C.	Private Collection.
P. H. S.	Pennsylvania Historical Society.
P. R. O.	Public Record Office.
P. R. O. A. W. I.	Public Record Office: America and West Indies.
P. A. E. E. U.	Paris Departement des Affaires Etrangères, — Etats-Unis.
U. of P.	University of Pennsylvania.
Y.	Yale University.
B.	Bigelow.
F.	Benjamin Franklin.
S.	Sparks.
V.	Benjamin Vaughan.
W. T. F.	W. T. Franklin.

Franklin's Mss. exist in several forms. He made a rough draft of every letter that he wrote; he then made a clean copy to send away, and often retained a letter-press copy. To indicate the state of the document, the following abbreviations are used: d. = draft, trans. = transcript, l. p. = letter-press copy.

1756. TO ALEXANDER SMALL[1]

Philadelphia, February 17, 1789.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have just received your kind letter of November 29th,[2] and am much obliged by your friendly attention in sending me the receipt, which on occasion I may make trial of; but the stone I have being a large one, as I find by the weight it falls with when I turn in bed, I have no hope of its being dissoluble by any medicine; and having been for some time past pretty free from pain, I am afraid of tampering. I congratulate you on the escape you had by avoiding the one you mention, that was as big as a kidney bean; had it been retained, it might soon have become too large to pass, and proved the cause of much pain at times, as mine has been to me.

Having served my time of three years as president, I have now renounced all public business, and enjoy the *otium cum dignitate*. My friends indulge me with their frequent visits, which I have now leisure to receive and enjoy. The Philosophical Society, and the Society for Political Inquiries, meet at my house, which I have enlarged by additional building, that affords me a large room for those meetings, another over it for my library now very considerable, and over all some lodging rooms. I have seven promising grandchildren by my

[1] Printed from "The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin" (1818), Vol. I, p. 246. Dated February 19, by Bigelow. — ED.

[2] In A. P. S. — ED.

daughter, who play with and amuse me, and she is a kind attentive nurse to me when I am at any time indisposed; so that I pass my time as agreeably as at my age a man may well expect, and have little to wish for, except a more easy exit than my malady seems to threaten.

The deafness you complain of gives me concern, as if great it must diminish considerably your pleasure in conversation. If moderate, you may remedy it easily and readily, by putting your thumb and fingers behind your ear, pressing it outwards, and enlarging it, as it were, with the hollow of your hand. By an exact experiment I found, that I could hear the tick of a watch at forty-five feet distance by this means, which was barely audible at twenty feet without it. The experiment was made at midnight when the house was still.

I am glad you have sent those directions respecting ventilation to the Edinburgh Society. I hope you have added an account of the experience you had of it at Minorca. If they do not print your paper, send it to me, and it shall be in the third volume, which we are about to publish of our Transactions.

Mrs. Hewson joins with us in best wishes for your health and happiness. Her eldest son has gone through his studies at our college, and taken his degree. The youngest is still there, and will be graduated this summer. My grandson presents his respects; and I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. You never mention the receipt of any letters from me. I wish to know if they come to hand, particularly my last enclosing the *Apologue*. You mention some of my old friends being dead, but not their names.

1757. TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE[1]

Philadelphia, March 2, 1789.

DEAR FRIEND,

Having now done with public affairs, which have hitherto taken up so much of my time, I shall endeavour to enjoy, during the small remainder of life that is left to me, some of the pleasures of conversing with my old friends by writing, since their distance prevents my hope of seeing them again.

I received one of the bags of sweet corn you were so good as to send me a long time since, but the other never came to hand. Even the letter mentioning it, though dated December 10th, 1787,[2] has been above a year on its way; for I received it but about two weeks since from Baltimore in Maryland. The corn I did receive was excellent, and gave me great pleasure. Accept my hearty thanks.

I am, as you suppose in the abovementioned old letter, much pleased to hear, that my young friend Ray is "smart in the farming way," and makes such substantial fences. I think agriculture the most honourable of all employments, being the most independent. The farmer has no need of popular favour, nor the favour of the great; the success of his crops depending only on the blessing of God upon his honest industry. I congratulate your good spouse, that he, as well as myself, is now free from public cares, and that he can bend his whole attention to his farming, which will afford him both profit and pleasure; a business which nobody knows better how to manage with advantage.

[1] From "The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin" (1818), Vol. I, p. 248. — ED.

[2] In A. P. S. — ED.

I am too old to follow printing again myself, but, loving the business, I have brought up my grandson Benjamin to it, and have built and furnished a printing-house for him, which he now manages under my eye. I have great pleasure in the rest of my grandchildren, who are now in number eight, and all promising, the youngest only six months old, but shows signs of great good nature. My friends here are numerous, and I enjoy as much of their conversation as I can reasonably wish; and I have as much health and cheerfulness, as can well be expected at my age, now eighty-three. Hitherto this long life has been tolerably happy; so that, if I were allowed to live it over again, I should make no objection, only wishing for leave to do, what authors do in a second edition of their works, correct some of my *errata*. Among the felicities of my life I reckon your friendship, which I shall remember with pleasure as long as that life lasts, being ever, my dear friend yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

1758. TO MISS CATHERINE LOUISA SHIPLEY[1]

Philadelphia, April 27, 1789.

IT is only a few days since the kind letter of my dear young friend, dated December 24th, came to my hands. I had before, in the public papers, met with the afflicting news that letter contained. That excellent man has then left us! His departure is a loss, not to his family and friends only, but to his nation, and to the world; for he was intent on doing good, had wisdom to devise the means, and talents to promote them.

[1] From "The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin" (1818), Vol. I, p. 249. — ED.

His "Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel," and his "Speech intended to have been spoken," [1] are proofs of his ability as well as his humanity. Had his counsels in those pieces been attended to by the ministers, how much bloodshed might have been prevented, and how much expense and disgrace to the nation avoided!

Your reflections on the constant calmness and composure attending his death are very sensible. Such instances seem to show, that the good sometimes enjoy in dying a foretaste of the happy state they are about to enter.

According to the course of years, I should have quitted this world long before him. I shall however not be long in following. I am now in my eighty-fourth year, and the last year has considerably enfeebled me; so that I hardly expect to remain another. You will then, my dear friend, consider this as probably the last line to be received from me, and as a taking leave. Present my best and most sincere respects to your good mother, and love to the rest of the family, to whom I wish all happiness; and believe me to be, while I *do* live, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

1759. TO COMTE DE MOUSTIER [2] (L. C.)

Philad^{a} April 27, 1789.

SIR,

I received the Honour of your Letter dated the 12th of March, when I lay very ill of my painful Distemper, which rendered me incapable of writing. The Letter yours enclos'd

[1] See Introduction, Vol. I, p. 165. — ED.

[2] Elénore François Elie, Comte de Moustier, French Minister to the United States. — ED.

related to an Affair between a Mr. Thomas of Paris, & Messrs Bache and Thée [?]. I communicated it to Mr. Bache who promis'd to examine the old Papers of the Partnership, and write to Mr. Thomas. This took some time, but he has now done it, and will give you a Letter for that Gentleman wch I presume will satisfy him, that he has had no just reason to complain of those Messieurs. I also enclose a Letter for Mr. Thomas.

I regret with you that the new Congress was so long in Assembling. The Season of the Year was not well chosen for their Meeting, & the uncommon Length of the Winter made it the more inconvenient. But this could hardly excuse the extreme Neglect of some of the Members, who not being far distant might have attended sooner, and whose Absence not only prevented the public Business from being forwarded, but put those States, whose Members attended punctually, to a vast Expence which answered no purpose. I hope however that now they are assembled the Wisdom of their Council will repair what has been amiss, promote effectually our national Interests, and do honour to their own Characters.

My best Wishes also Attend the Deliberation of your great Council the States General of France, which meets this Day. God grant them Temper and Harmony; Wisdom they must have among them sufficient if Passions will suffer it to operate. I pray sincerely that by means of that Assembly the public Interests may be advanced and succeed, and the future Welfare and Glory of the French Nation be firmly established.

I have the honour to be, with sincere and great Esteem and Respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

1760. TO CHARLES CARROLL[1]

Philadelphia, May 25, 1789.

DEAR FRIEND,

I am glad to see by the papers, that our grand machine has at length begun to work. I pray God to bless and guide its operations. If any form of government is capable of making a nation happy, ours I think bids fair now for producing that effect. But, after all, much depends upon the people who are to be governed. We have been guarding against an evil that old States are most liable to, *excess of power* in the rulers; but our present danger seems to be *defect of obedience* in the subjects. There is hope, however, from the enlightened state of this age and country, we may guard effectually against that evil as well as the rest.

My grandson, William Temple Franklin, will have the honour of presenting this line. He accompanied me to France, and remained with me during my mission. I beg leave to recommend him to your notice, and that you would believe me, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

1761. TO PHILIP KINSEY (A. P. S.)

May 25, 1789.

D[r] FRANKLIN presents his respectful Compliments to M[r] Kinsey, and is persuaded there is some Mistake in the Sup-

[1] Mr. Carroll was at this time a senator in Congress from Maryland. The first Congress under the new Constitution had recently convened in New York. In March, 1776, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Carroll had been joint commissioners, appointed by the Continental Congress with instructions to form a union between the Canadas and the United Colonies. — S.

This letter is printed from Sparks, Vol. X, p. 392. — ED.

position that the Box in question was ever lent to him, his Memory being still pretty good, and it affording not the least Trace of any such Transaction.[1]

1762. TO RICHARD PRICE[2] (L. C.)

Philad[a], May 31, 1789.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I lately received your kind Letter, inclosing one from Miss Kitty Shipley, informing me of the good Bishop's Decease, which afflicted me greatly. My Friends drop off one after another, when my Age and Infirmities prevent my making new Ones; & if I still retained the necessary Activity and Ability, I hardly see among the existing Generation where I could make them of equal Goodness: So that the longer I live I must expect to be very wretched. As we draw nearer the Conclusion of Life, Nature furnishes with more Helps to wean us from it, among which one of the most powerful is the Loss of such dear Friends.

[1] Written by Franklin on the back of the following letter from Kinsey: "Philip Kinseys most respectful Compliments to Doctor Franklin. His Brother James Kinsey, then in this City, more than thirty Years since, lent the Doctor a mahogany Box containing sundry geometrical solid Bodies, being the first six Books of Euclid's Elements formd of Box Wood, which were never returnd; P. K. has the other Box containing the Figures of the other six Books, both which cost twenty four Guineas, lately recover'd from another Person who had had them so long that they were forgot, if that which the Doctor borrow'd can be obtaind in good Order which he hopes may be done P. K. can dispose of them for perhaps as much Currency as they cost sterling, or if the Doctor would like to have them the other Box shall be sent him. Enquiry was made for them at the Doctors House during his first Absence, but his Wife & Daughter knew nothing of them ——

May 25th Monday 4. o'Clock." — ED.

[2] This letter is written in lead pencil, as are most of the later letters written by Franklin. — ED.

I send you with this the two Volumes of our Transactions, as I forget whether you had the first before. If you had, you will please to give this to the French Ambassador, requesting his Conveyance of it to the good Duke de la Rochefoucauld.

My best Wishes attend you, being with sincere and great Esteem, my dear Friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

1763. OBSERVATIONS

RELATIVE TO THE INTENTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDERS OF THE ACADEMY IN PHILADELPHIA. JUNE, 1789 (L. C.)

As the English School in the Academy has been, and still continues to be, a Subject of Dispute and Discussion among the Trustees since the Restitution of the Charter, and it has been propos'd that we should have some Regard to the original Intention of the Founders in establishing that School, I beg leave for your Information, to lay before you what I know of that Matter originally, and what I find on the Minutes relating to it, by which it will appear how far the Design of that School has been adher'd to or neglected.

Having acquir'd some little Reputation among my Fellow-Citizens, by projecting the Public Library in 1732, and obtaining the Subscriptions by which it was establish'd, and by proposing and promoting with Success sundry other Schemes of Utility, in 1749 I was encouraged to hazard another Project, that of a Public Education for our Youth. As in the Scheme of the Library I had provided only for English Books, so in this new Scheme my Ideas went no farther than to

procure the Means of a good English Education. A Number of my Friends, to whom I communicated the Proposal, concurr'd with me in these Ideas; but Mr. Allen, Mr. Francis, Mr. Peters, and some other Persons of Wealth and Learning, whose Subscriptions and Countenance we should need, being of Opinion that it ought to include the learned Languages, I submitted my Judgment to theirs, retaining however a strong Prepossession in favour of my first Plan, and resolving to preserve as much of it as I could, and to nourish the English School by every Means in my Power.

Before I went about to procure Subscriptions, I thought it proper to prepare the Minds of the People by a Pamphlet, which I wrote, and printed, and distributed with my Newspapers, gratis: The Title was, *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.* I happen to have preserv'd one of them; and by reading a few Passages it will appear how much the English Learning was insisted upon in it; and I had good reason to know that this was a prevailing Part of the Motives for Subscribing with most of the original Benefactors.[1] I met with but few Refusals in soliciting the Subscriptions; and the Sum was the more considerable, as I had put the Contribution on this footing that it was not to be immediate and the whole paid at once, but in Parts, a Fifth annually during Five Years. To put the Machine in

[1] That the Rector be a man of good understanding, good morals, diligent and patient, learned in the languages and sciences, and a correct, pure speaker and writer of the English tongue; to have such tutors under him as shall be necessary.

The English language might be taught by grammar; in which some of our best writers, as Tillotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon Sidney, Cato's Letters, &c. should be classics; the *styles* principally to be cultivated being the *clear* and the *concise.* Reading should also be taught, and pronouncing properly, distinctly, emphatically; not with an even tone, which *under-does*, nor a theatrical, which *over-does* nature.

Motion, Twenty-four of the principal Subscribers agreed to take upon themselves the Trust; and a Set of Constitutions for their Government, and for the Regulation of the Schools were drawn up by Mr. Francis and myself, which were sign'd by us all, and printed, that the Publick might know what was to be expected. I wrote also a Paper, entitled, *Idea of an English School*, which was printed, and afterwards annex'd to Mr. Peters' Sermon, preach'd at the opening of the Academy. This Paper was said to be *for the Consideration of the Trustees;* and the Expectation of the Publick, that the Idea might in good Part be carried into Execution, contributed to render the Subscriptions more liberal as well as more general. I mention my Concern in these Transactions, to show the Opportunity I had of being well inform'd in the Points I am relating.

The Constitutions are upon Record in your Minutes; and, altho' the Latin and Greek is by them to be taught, the original Idea of a complete English Education was not forgotten, as will appear by the following Extracts.

Page 1. "The English Tongue is to be taught grammatically, and as a Language."

Page 4. In reciting the Qualification of the Person to be appointed Rector, it is said, "that *great Regard* is to be had to his *polite Speaking, Writing, and Understanding the English Tongue.*"

The Rector was to have Two Hundred Pounds a Year, for wch he was to be obliged to "teach 20 Boys, without any Assistance, and 25 more for every Usher provided for him, the Latin and Greek Languages; and at the same time instruct them in History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, Rhetoric, and *the English Tongue.*"

The Rector was also, "on all Occasions consistent with his Duty in the Latin School, to *assist the English Master in improving the Youth under his Care.*"

Page 5. "The Trustees shall with all convenient Speed, contract with any Person that offers who they shall judge most capable of *teaching the English Tongue grammatically and as a Language*, History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Oratory; which Person shall be stiled *the English Master.*"

The English Master was to have "One Hundred Pounds a Year, for which he was to teach, without any Assistance, 40 Scholars *the English Tongue grammatically* and at the same time instruct them in History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Oratory; and Sixty Scholars more for every Usher provided for him."

It is to be observed in this Place, that here are two distinct Courses in the same Study, that is, of the same Branches of Science, viz. History, Geography, Chronology, Logic, and Oratory, to be carried on at the same time, but not by the same Tutor or Master. The English Master is to teach his Scholars all those Branches of Science, and also the English Tongue grammatically, as a Language. The Latin Master is to teach the same Sciences to his Boys, besides the Greek and Latin. He was also to assist the English Master occasionally without which and his general Care in the Government of the Schools, the giving him double Salary seems not well accounted for. But here is plainly two distinct Schools or Courses of Education provided for. The Latin Master was not to teach the English Scholars Logic, Rhetoric, &c.; that was the Duty of the English Master; but he was to teach those Sciences to the Latin Scholars. We shall see hereafter

how easily this original Plan was defeated and departed from.

When the Constitutions were first drawn Blanks were left for the Salaries, and for the Number of Boys the Latin Master was to teach. The first Instance of Partiality in favr of the Latin Part of the Institution, was in giving the Title of Rector to the Latin Master, and no Title to the English one. But the most striking Instance was when we met to sign, and the Blanks were first to be fill'd up, the Votes of a Majority carry'd it, to give twice as much Salary to the Latin Master as to the English, and yet require twice as much Duty from the English Master as from the Latin, viz. 200*l.* to the Latin Master to teach 20 Boys; 100*l.* to the English Master to teach 40! However, the Trustees who voted these Salaries being themselves by far the greatest Subscribers, tho' not the most numerous, it was thought they had a kind of Right to predominate in Money Matters; and those who had wish'd an equal Regard might have been shown to both Schools, submitted, tho' not without Regret, and at times some little Complaining; which, with their not being able in nine Months to find a proper Person for *English Master*, who would undertake the Office for so low a Salary, induc'd the Trustees at length, viz. in July 1750, to offer 50*l.* more.

Another Instance of the Partiality above mentioned was in the March preceding, when 100*l.* Sterling was voted to buy *Latin* and *Greek* Books, Maps, Drafts, and Instruments for the Use of the Academy, and nothing for *English Books*.

The great Part of the Subscribers, who had the English Education chiefly in view, were however sooth'd into a Submission to these Partialities, chiefly by the Expectation given them by the Constitution, viz. that the Trustees would make

it their Pleasure, and in some degree their Business, to visit the Academy often, to encourage and countenance the Youth, look on the Students as in some Measure their own Children, treat them with Familiarity and Affection; and when they have behaved well, gone thro' their Studies, and are to enter the World, the Trustees shall zealously unite, and make all the Interest that can be made, to promote and establish them, whether in Business, Offices, Marriages, or any other thing for their Advantage, preferable to all other Persons whatsoever, even of equal Merit.

These splendid Promises dazzled the Eyes of the Publick. The Trustees were most of them the principal Gentlemen of the Province. Children taught in other Schools had no reason to expect such powerful Patronage, the Subscribers had plac'd such entire Confidence in them as to leave themselves no Power of changing them if their Conduct of the Plan should be disapprov'd; and so, in hopes of the best, all these Partialities were submitted to.

Near a Year past before a proper Person was found to take Charge of the English School. At length Mr. Dove, who had been many years Master of a School in England, and had come hither with an Apparatus for giving Lectures in Experimental Philosophy, was prevail'd with by me, after his Lectures were finished, to accept that Employment for the Salary offered, tho' he thought it too scanty. He had a good Voice, read perfectly well, with proper Accent and just Pronunciation, and his Method of communicating Habits of the same kind to his Pupils was this. When he gave a Lesson to one of them, he always first read it to him aloud, with all the different Modulations of Voice that the Subject and Sense required. These the scholars, in studying and repeating the

Lesson, naturally endeavour'd to imitate; and it was really surprizing to see how soon they caught his Manner, which convinc'd me and others who frequently attended his School, that tho' bad Tones and manners in reading are when once acquir'd rarely, with Difficulty, if ever cur'd, yet, when none have been already form'd, good ones are as easily learn'd as bad. In a few Weeks after opening his School, the Trustees were invited to hear the Scholars read and recite. The Parents and Relations of the Boys also attended. The Performances were surprizingly good, and of course were admired and applauded; and the English School thereby acquired such Reputation, that the Number of Mr. Dove's Scholars soon amounted to upwards of Ninety, which Number did not diminish as long as he continued Master, viz. upwards of two Years: But he finding the Salary insufficient, and having set up a School for Girls in his own House to supply the Deficiency, and quitting the Boys' School somewhat before the Hour to attend the Girls, the Trustees disapprov'd of his so doing, and he quitted their Employment, continu'd his Girls' School, and open'd one for Boys on his own Account. The Trustees provided another English Master; but tho' a good Man, yet not possessing the Talents of an English Schoolmaster in the same Perfection with Mr. Dove, the School diminish'd daily, and soon was found to have but about forty Scholars left. The Performances of the Boys, in Reading and Speaking, were no longer so brilliant; the Trustees of course had not the same Pleasure in hearing them, and the Monthly Visitations, which had so long afforded a delightful Entertainment to large Audiences were gradually badly attended, and at length discontinued; and the English School has never since recovered its original Reputation.

Thus by our injudiciously starving the English Part of our Scheme of Education, we only sav'd Fifty Pounds a Year, which was required as an additional Salary to an acknowledg'd excellent English master, which would have equaled his Encouragement to that of the Latin Master; I say by saving the Fifty Pounds we lost Fifty Scholars, which would have been 200*l.* a Year, and defeated besides one great End of the Institution.

In the mean time our Favours were shower'd upon the Latin Part; the Number of Teachers was encreas'd, and their Salaries from time to time augmented, till if I mistake not, they amounted in the whole to more than 600*l.* a Year, tho' the Scholars hardly ever exceeded 60; so that each Scholar Cost the Funds 10*l.* per annum, while he paid but 4*l.*, which was a Loss of 6*l.* by every one of them.

The Monthly Visitation too of the Schools, by the Trustees, having been long neglected, the Omission was complain'd of by the Parents, as a Breach of original Promise; whereupon the Trustees, July 11, 1755, made it a Law, that "they should meet on the second Tuesday in every Month at the Academy, to visit the Schools, examine the Scholars, hear their public Exercises, &c." This good Law however, like many others, was not long observed; for I find by a Minute of Dec. 14, 1756, that the Examination of the Schools by the Trustees had been long neglected, and it was agreed that it should thereafter be done on the first Monday in every Month. And, yet notwithstanding this new Rule, the Neglect return'd, so that we are inform'd, by another Minute of Jan. 13, 1761, "that for 5 Months past there had not been *one* Meeting of the Trustees." In the Course of 14 Years several of the original Trustees, who had been dispos'd to favour the English

School, deceased, and others not so favourable were chosen to supply their Places; however it appears by the Minutes, that the Remainder had some times Weight enough to recall the Attention of their Colleagues to that School, and obtain Acknowledgments of the unjust Neglect it had been treated with. Of this the following Extracts from the Minutes are authentic Proofs, viz. (Minute Book, Vol. I., Feb. 8, 1763;) "The State of the English School was taken into Consideration, and it was observed that Mr. Kinnersley's Time was entirely taken up in teaching little Boys the Elements of the English Language (that is it was dwindled into a School similar to those kept by old Women, who teach Children their Letters); and that Speaking and Rehearsing in Publick were *totally disused*, to the great Prejudice of the other Scholars and Students, and contrary to the ORIGINAL DESIGN of the Trustees in the forming of that School; and as this was a matter of great Importance, it was *particularly recommended* to be *fully considered* by the Trustees at their next Meeting." At their next Meeting it was not considered: But This Minute contains full Proof of the Fact that the English Education had been neglected, and it contains an Acknowledgment that the Conduct of the English School was contrary to the original Design of the Trustees in forming it.

In the same Book of Minutes we find the following, of April 12, 1763. "The State of the English School was again taken into Consideration, and it was the Opinion of the Trustees that the ORIGINAL DESIGN should be prosecuted, of teaching the Scholars of that (and the other Schools) the Elegance of the English Language, and giving them a proper Pronunciation; and that the *old Method* of hearing them read and repeat in Publick sh[d] be again used: And a Committee was

appointed to confer with Mr. Kinnersley how this might best be done, as well as what Assistance would be necessary to give Mr. Kinnersley to enable him to attend this *necessary Service*, which was indeed the PROPER BUSINESS of his Professorship."

In this Minute we have another Acknowledgment of what was the *original Design* of the English School; but here are some Words thrown in to countenance an Innovation, which had been for some time practised. The Words are, ("and the other schools.") Originally by the Constitutions, the Rector was to teach the Latin Scholars their English. The Words of the Constitution are, "The Rector shall *be obliged*, without the Assistance of any Usher, to teach 20 Scholars the Latin and Greek Languages, and —— the English Tongue." To enable him to do this, we have seen that some of his Qualifications requir'd, were, his *polite Speaking, Writing*, and *Understanding the English Tongue*. Having these, he was enjoin'd, on all Occasions consistent with his other Duties, to assist the English Master in improving the Boys under his Care; but there is not a Word obliging the English Master to teach the Latin Boys English. However, the Latin Masters, either unable to do it, or unwilling to take the Trouble, had got him up among them, and employ'd so much of his Time, that this Minute owns he could not, without farther Assistance, attend the *necessary Service* of his own School, which, as the Minute expressly says, "was indeed the *proper Business* of his Professorship."

Notwithstanding this good Resolution of the Trustees, it seems the Execution of it was neglected; and, the Publick not being satisfied, they were again haunted by the Friends of the Children with the old Complaint that the original Constitutions were not complied with, in regard to the English

School. Their Situation was unpleasant. On the one hand there were still remaining some of the first Trustees, who were Friends to the Scheme of English Education, and these would now and then be remarking that it was neglected, and would be moving for a Reformation. The Constitutions at the same time, staring the Trustees in the Face, gave weight to these Remarks. On the other hand the Latinists were combin'd to decry the English School as useless. It was without Example, they said, as indeed they still say, that a School for teaching the Vulgar Tongue, and the Sciences in that Tongue, was ever joined with a College, and that the Latin Masters were fully competent to teach the English.

I will not say that the Latinists look'd on every Expence upon the English School as so far disabling the Trustees from augmenting their Salaries, and therefore regarded it with an evil Eye; but when I find the Minutes constantly fill'd with their Applications for higher Wages, I cannot but see their great Regard for Money Matters, and suspect a little their using their Interest and Influence to prevail with the Trustees not to encourage that School. And indeed the following Minute is so different in Spirit and Sentiment from that last recited, that one cannot avoid concluding that some extraordinary Pains must have been taken with the Trustees between the two Meetings of April 12 and June 13, to produce a Resolution so very different, which here follows in this Minute, viz. "June 13, 1763; Some of the Parents of the Children in the Academy having complained that their Children were not taught to speak and read in publick and having requested that this useful Part of Education might be more attended to, Mr. Kinnersley was called in, and desired to give an Acc^{t} of what was done in this Branch of his

Duty; and he declared that this was well taught, not only in the English School, wch was more immediately under his Care, *but in the Philosophy Classes, regularly every Monday Afternoon, and as often at other times as his other Business would permit.* And it not appearing to the Trustees that any more could at present be done, without partiality and great Inconvenience, and that this was all that was ever proposed to be done, they did not incline to make any Alteration, or to lay any farther Burthen on Mr. Kinnersley." Note here, that the English School had not for some Years preceding been visited by the Trustees. If it had they would have known the State of it without making this Enquiry of the Master. They might have judg'd, whether the Children more immediately under his Care were in truth well taught, without taking his Word for it, as it appears they did. But it seems he had a Merit which, when he pleaded it, effectually excus'd him. He spent his Time when out of the English School in instructing the Philosophy Classes who were of the Latin Part of the Institution. Therefore they did not think proper to lay any farther Burthen upon him.

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This special Meeting was accordingly held on the 23d of July, 1769, of which Date is the following Minute and Resolution; viz. "The Trustees at this Meeting, as well as several former ones, having taken into their serious Consideration the State of the English School, are unanimously of Opinion, that as the said School is far from defraying the Expence at which they now support it, and not thinking that they ought to lay out any great Part of the Funds entrusted to them on this Branch of Education, which can so easily be procur'd at other Schools in this City, have Resolved, that from and after the 17th of October next, Mr. Kinnersley's present Salary do cease, and that from that time the said School, if he shall be inclined to keep it, shall be on the following Footing; viz. that he shall have the free Use of the Room where he now teaches, and also the whole Tuition-Money arising from the Boys that may be taught by him, and that he continue Professor

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be found any way repugnant to the first Charter granted to the Academy, a Copy of which was ordered to be procured out of the Rolls Office."

One might have thought it natural for the Trustees to have consulted this Charter before they took the Resolution, and not only the first Charter, but the original Constitutions; but, as it seems they had lost the Instrument containing the Charter, and, tho' it had been printed, not one of them was furnished with a Copy to which he might refer, it is no wonder that they had forgot the Constitutions made 20 Years before, to which they do not seem to have in the least adverted.

Probably, however, the Trustees found, when they came to examine original Papers, that they could not easily get entirely rid of the English School, and so concluded to continue it. For I find in a Law for Premiums, minuted under the Date of Jan. 29, 1770, that the English and mathematical School is directed to be examined the 3d Tuesday in July, and a Premium Book of the Value of One Dollar was to be given to him that reads best, and understands best the English Grammar, &c. This is very well; but to keep up the old Partiality in favour of the Latin School, the Premium to its Boys was to be of the Value of two Dollars. In the Premiums for best Speaking, they were indeed put upon an Equality.

After Reading this Law for Premiums, I looked forward to the third Tuesday in July with some pleasing Expectation of their Effect on the Examination required for that Day. But I met with only this farther Record of the Inattention of the Trustees to their new Resolutions and even Laws, when they contained any thing favourable to the English

School. The Minute is only this; "July, August, September, October, no Business done."

On the 20th of November, however, I find there was an Examination of the Latin school, and Premiums, with pompous Inscriptions, afterwards adjudged to Latin Scholars; but I find no Mention of any to the English, or that they were even examined. Perhaps there might have been none to examine, or the school discontinu'd: For it appears by a Minute of July 21, following, that the Provost was desired to advertise for a Master able to teach English Grammatically, which it seems was all the English Master was now required to teach, the other Branches originally promised being dropt entirely.

In October 1772 Mr. Kinnersley resigned his Professorship, when Dr. Peters and others were appointed to consider on what footing the English School shall be put for the future, that a new Master may be thought of, and Mr. Willing to take care of the School for the present at 50 Pounds per Ann. It is observable here that there is no Mention of putting it on its original Footing, and the Salary is shrunk amazingly; but this Resignation of Mr. Kinnersley gave Occasion to one Testimony of the Utility of the English Professor to the Institution, notwithstanding all the Partiality, Neglect, Slights, Discouragements, and Injustice that School had suffered. We find it in the Minutes of a special Meeting on the 2d of Feb^{y}, 1773, present Dr. Peters, Mr. Chew, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Willing, Mr. Trettel, and Mr. Inglis, and expressed in these strong Terms.

"The college suffers *greatly* since Mr. Kinnersley left it, for want of a Person to teach public Speaking, so that the present Classes have not those Opportunities of learning to

declaim and speak which have been of *so much Use* to their Predecessors, and have contributed *greatly* to *raise the Credit* of the Institution!"

Here is another Confession that the Latinists were unequal to the Task of teaching English Eloquence, tho' on occasion the contrary is still asserted.

I flatter myself, Gentlemen, that it appears by this time pretty clearly from our own Minutes, that the original Plan of the English school has been departed from; that the Subscribers to it have been disappointed and deceived, and the Faith of the Trustees not kept with them; that the Publick have been frequently dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Trustees, and complained of it; that, by the niggardly Treatment of Good Masters, they have been driven out of the School, and the Scholars have followed, while a great Loss of Revenue has been suffered by the Academy; for that the numerous Schools now in the City owe their Rise to our Mismanagement, and that we might as well have had the best Part of the Tuition-Money paid into our Treasury, that now goes into private Pockets; that there has been a constant Disposition to depress the English School in favour of the Latin; and that every Means to procure a more equitable Treatment has been rendered ineffectual: so that no more Hope remains while they continue to have any Connection. It is, therefore, that, wishing as much good to the Latinists as their System can honestly procure for them, we now demand a Separation, and without desiring to injure them; but claiming an equitable Partition of our joint Stock, we wish to execute the Plan they have so long defeated, and afford the Publick the Means of a compleat English Education.

I am the only one of the original Trustees now living, and I am just stepping into the Grave myself. I am afraid that some Part of the Blame incurred by the Trustees may be laid on me, for having too easily submitted to the Deviations from the Constitution, and not opposing them with sufficient Zeal and Earnestness; tho' indeed my Absence in foreign Countries at different Times for near 30 Years, tended much to weaken my Influence. To make what Amends are yet in my Power, I seize this Opportunity, the last I may possibly have, of bearing Testimony against those Deviations. I seem here to be surrounded by the Ghosts of my dear departed Friends, beckoning and urging me to use the only Tongue now left us, in demanding that Justice to our Grandchildren, that our Children has been denied. And I hope they will not be sent away discontented.

The Origin of Latin and Greek Schools among the different Nations of Europe is known to have been this, that until between 3 and 400 Years past there were no Books in any other Language; all the Knowledge then contain'd in Books, viz. the Theology, the Jurisprudence, the Physic, the Art-military, the Politicks, the Mathematics and Mechanics, the Natural and moral Philosophy, the Logic and Rhetoric, the Chemistry, the Pharmacy, the Architecture, and every other Branch of Science, being in those Languages, it was of course necessary to learn them, as the Gates through which Men must pass to get at that Knowledge.

The Books then existing were manuscript, and these consequently so dear, that only the few Wealthy enclin'd to Learning could afford to purchase them. The common People were not even at the Pains of learning to read, because, after taking that Pains, they would have nothing to read

that they could understand without learning the ancient Languages, nor then without Money to purchase the Manuscripts. And so few were the learned Readers 60 Years after the Invention of Printing, that it appears by Letters still extant between the Printers in 1499, that they could not throughout Europe find Purchasers for more than 300 Copies of any ancient Authors. But Printing beginning now to make Books cheap, the Readers increas'd so much as to make it worth while to write and print Books in the Vulgar Tongues. At first these were chiefly Books of Devotion and little Histories; gradually several Branches of Science began to appear in the common Languages, and at this Day the whole Body of Science, consisting not only of Translations, from all the valuable ancients, but of all the new modern Discoveries, is to be met with in those Languages, so that learning the ancient for the purpose of acquiring Knowledge is become absolutely unnecessary.

But there is in Mankind an unaccountable Prejudice in favour of ancient Customs and Habitudes, which inclines to a Continuance of them after the Circumstances, which formerly made them useful, cease to exist. A Multitude of Instances might be given, but it may suffice to mention one. Hats were once thought an useful Part of Dress; it was said they kept the Head warm and screen'd it from the violent Impression of the sun's Rays, and from the Rain, Snow, Hail, &c. Tho' by the Way, this was not the more ancient Opinion or Practice; for among all the Remains of Antiquity, the Bustos, Statues, Coins, medals, &c., which are infinite, there is no Representation of a human Figure with a Cap or Hat on, nor any Covering for the Head, unless it be the Head of a Soldier, who has a Helmet; but that is evidently not a

Part of Dress for Health, but as a Protection from the Strokes of a Weapon.

At what Time Hats were first introduced we know not, but in the last Century they were universally worn thro'out Europe. Gradually, however, as the Wearing of Wigs, and Hair nicely dress'd prevailed, the putting on of Hats was disused by genteel People, lest the curious Arrangements of the Curls and Powdering should be disordered; and Umbrellas began to supply their Place; yet still our Considering the Hat as a part of Dress continues so far to prevail, that a Man of fashion is not thought dress'd without having one, or something like one, about him, which he carries under his Arm. So that there are a multitude of the politer people in all the courts and capital cities of Europe, who have never, nor their fathers before them, worn a hat otherwise than as a *chapeau bras*, though the utility of such a mode of wearing it is by no means apparent, and it is attended not only with some expense, but with a degree of constant trouble.

The still prevailing custom of having schools for teaching generally our children, in these days, the Latin and Greek languages, I consider therefore, in no other light than as the *Chapeau bras* of modern Literature.

Thus the Time spent in that Study might, it seems, be much better employ'd in the Education for such a Country as ours; and this was indeed the Opinion of most of the original Trustees.[1]

[1] Mr. Robert Hare wrote to the executors of Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, May 21, 1790: "This manuscript was put into my hands by Dr. Franklin for my inspection, in the last summer, at which time some alterations in the System of Education pursued in the English school at the College were under consideration. It was at that time the intention of the Doctor that the Contents should be submitted to the Trustees. He afterward told me, his ill

of English and Oratory, and as such, have the house he lives in *Rent-free*, in Consideration of his giving two Afternoons in the Week as heretofore, for the Instruction of the Students belonging to the College in public Speaking, agreeable to such Rules as are or shall be made for that purpose by the Trustees and Faculty. It is farther ordered by this Regulation, that the Boys belonging to his School shall be still considered as Part of the Youth belonging to the College, and under the same general Government of the Trustees and Faculty; and such of his Scholars as may attend the Mathematical or any other Master having a Salary from the College, for any part of their Time, shall pay proportionably into the Fund of the Trustees, to be accounted for by Mr. Kinnersley, and deduct out of the 20 per quarter now paid by the English Scholars."

The Trustees hope this Regulation may be agreeable to Mr. Kinnersley, as it proceeds entirely from the Reasons set forth above, and not from any Abatement of that Esteem which they have always retain'd for him, during the whole Course of his Services in College.

Upon this and some of the preceding Minutes, we may observe; 1. That the English School having been long neglected, the Scholars were so diminish'd in Number as to be far from defraying the Expence in supporting it. 2. That the Instruction they receiv'd there, instead of a compleat English Education, which had been promised to the Subscribers by the original Constitutions, were only such as might easily be procured at other Schools in this City. 3. That this unprofitableness of the English School, owing to Neglect of Duty in the Trustees, was now offered as a Reason for demolishing it altogether. For it was easy to see, that, after depriving the Master of his Salary, he could not long afford

Our new government is now in train, and seems to promise well. But events are in the hand of God. I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B FRANKLIN.

1765. TO MRS. JANE MECOM (L. C.)

Philad^{a}, Augt 3, 1789.

DEAR SISTER,

I have receiv'd your kind Letter of the 23d past and am glad to learn, that you have at length got some of the letters I so long since wrote to you. I think your PostOffice is very badly managed. I expect your Bill, and shall pay it when it appears. I would have you put the Books into cousin Jonathan's Hands, who will dispose of them for you, if he can, or return them hither. I am very much pleased to hear, that you have had no Misunderstanding with his father. Indeed, if there had been any such, I should have concluded, it was your fault; for I think our Family were always subject to being a little Miffy.

By the way, is our Relationship in Nantucket quite worn-out? I have met with none from thence of late years, who were disposed to be acquainted with me, except Captain Timothy Foulger. They are wonderfully shy. But I admire their honest plainness of Speech. About a year ago I invited two of them to dine with me. Their answer was, that they would, if they could not do better. I suppose they did better; for I never saw them afterwards, and so had no Opportunity of showing my Miff, if I had one.

Give [mutilated] to Cousin Williams's and thank them from me for all their Kindnesses to you which I have always

of English and Oratory, and as such, have the house he lives in *Rent-free*, in Consideration of his giving two Afternoons in the Week as heretofore, for the Instruction of the Students belonging to the College in public Speaking, agreeable to such Rules as are or shall be made for that purpose by the Trustees and Faculty. It is farther ordered by this Regulation, that the Boys belonging to his School shall be still considered as Part of the Youth belonging to the College, and under the same general Government of the Trustees and Faculty; and such of his Scholars as may attend the Mathematical or any other Master having a Salary from the College, for any part of their Time, shall pay proportionably into the Fund of the Trustees, to be accounted for by Mr. Kinnersley, and deduct out of the 20 per quarter now paid by the English Scholars."

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to continue it. 4. That if the Insufficiency of the Tuition-Money in the English School to pay the Expence, and the Ease with which the Scholars might obtain equal Instruction in other Schools, were good Reasons for depriving the Master of his Salary and destroying that School, they were equally good for dismissing the Latin Masters, and sending their Scholars to other Schools; since it is notorious that the Tuition-Money of the Latin School did not pay much above a fourth Part of the Salaries of the Masters. For such Reasons the Trustees might equally well have got rid of all the Scholars and all the Masters, and remain'd in full Possession of all the College Property, without any future Expence. 5. That by thus refusing any longer to support, instead of Reforming, as they ought to have done, the English School, they shamefully broke through and set at nought the original Constitutions, for the due Execution of which the Faith of the original Trustees had been solemnly pledged to the Publick and diverted the Revenues, proceeding from much of the first Subscriptions, to other Purposes than those which had been promised. Had the Assembly, when disposed to disfranchise the Trustees, set their Foot upon this Ground, their Proceeding to declare the Forfeiture would have been more justifiable; and it may be hop'd Care will now be taken not to give any future Assembly the same Handle.

It seems, however, that this unrighteous Resolve did not pass the Trustees without a Qualm in some of them. For at the next Meeting a Reconsideration was moved, and we find the following Minute under the Date of August 1, 1769; "The Minute of last Meeting relative to the English School was read, and after mature Deliberation and reconsidering the same, it was *voted* to stand as it is, provided it should not

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before Conviction, that is, to be *press'd* to death or hanged. If by the *Liberty of the Press* were understood merely the Liberty of discussing the Propriety of Public Measures and political opinions, let us have as much of it as you please: But if it means the Liberty of affronting, calumniating, and defaming one another, I, for my part, own myself willing to part with my Share of it when our Legislators shall please so to alter the Law, and shall cheerfully consent to exchange my *Liberty* of Abusing others for the *Privilege* of not being abus'd myself.

By whom this Court is commissioned or constituted.

It is not by any Commission from the Supreme Executive Council, who might previously judge of the Abilities, Integrity, Knowledge, &c. of the Persons to be appointed to this great Trust, of deciding upon the Characters and good Fame of the Citizens; for this Court is above that Council, and may *accuse*, *judge*, and *condemn* it, at pleasure. Nor is it hereditary, as in the Court of *dernier Resort*, in the Peerage of England. But any Man who can procure Pen, Ink, and Paper, with a Press, and a huge pair of BLACKING Balls, may commissionate himself; and his court is immediately established in the plenary Possession and exercise of its rights. For, if you make the least complaint of the *judge's* conduct, he daubs his blacking balls in your face wherever he meets you; and, besides tearing your private character to flitters, marks you out for the odium of the public, as an *enemy to the liberty of the press.*

Of the natural Support of these Courts.

Their support is founded in the depravity of such minds, as have not been mended by religion, nor improved by good education;

> "There is a Lust in Man no Charm can tame,
> Of loudly publishing his Neighbour's Shame."

Hence;

> "On Eagle's Wings immortal Scandals fly,
> While virtuous Actions are but born and die."
>
> DRYDEN.

Whoever feels pain in hearing a good character of his neighbour, will feel a pleasure in the reverse. And of those who, despairing to rise into distinction by their virtues, are happy if others can be depressed to a level with themselves, there are a number sufficient in every great town to maintain one of these courts by their subscriptions. A shrewd observer once said, that, in walking the streets in a slippery morning, one might see where the good-natured people lived by the ashes thrown on the ice before their doors; probably he would have formed a different conjecture of the temper of those whom he might find engaged in such a subscription.

Of the Checks proper to be established against the Abuse of Power in these Courts.

Hitherto there are none. But since so much has been written and published on the federal Constitution, and the necessity of checks in all other parts of good government has been so clearly and learnedly explained, I find myself so far enlightened as to suspect some check may be proper in this part also; but I have been at a loss to imagine any that may not be construed an infringement of the sacred *liberty of the press*. At length, however, I think I have found one that, instead of diminishing general liberty, shall augment it; which is, by restoring to the people a species of liberty, of which they have been deprived by our laws, I mean the *liberty of the cudgel*. In the rude state of society prior to the

existence of laws, if one man gave another ill language, the affronted person would return it by a box on the ear, and, if repeated, by a good drubbing; and this without offending against any law. But now the right of making such returns is denied, and they are punished as breaches of the peace; while the right of abusing seems to remain in full force, the laws made against it being rendered ineffectual by the *liberty of the press.*

My proposal then is, to leave the liberty of the press untouched, to be exercised in its full extent, force, and vigor; but to permit the *liberty of the cudgel* to go with it *pari passu.* Thus, my fellow-citizens, if an impudent writer attacks your reputation, dearer to you perhaps than your life, and puts his name to the charge, you may go to him as openly and break his head. If he conceals himself behind the printer, and you can nevertheless discover who he is, you may in like manner way-lay him in the night, attack him behind, and give him a good drubbing. Thus far goes my project as to *private* resentment and retribution. But if the public should ever happen to be affronted, *as it ought to be,* with the conduct of such writers, I would not advise proceeding immediately to these extremities; but that we should in moderation content ourselves with tarring and feathering, and tossing them in a blanket.

If, however, it should be thought that this proposal of mine may disturb the public peace, I would then humbly recommend to our legislators to take up the consideration of both liberties, that of the *press*, and that of the *cudgel*, and by an explicit law mark their extent and limits; and, at the same time that they secure the person of a citizen from *assaults*, they would likewise provide for the security of his *reputation.*

1768. TO GEORGE WASHINGTON[1] (L. C.)

Philad[a], Sept. 16, 1789

DEAR SIR,

My Malady renders my Sitting up to write rather painful to me; but I cannot let my Son-in-law Mr. Bache part for New York, without congratulating you by him on the Recovery of your Health, so precious to us all, and on the growing Strength of our New Government under your Administration. For my own personal Ease, I should have died two Years ago; but, tho' those Years have been spent in excruciating Pain, I am pleas'd that I have liv'd them, since they have brought me to see our present Situation. I am now finishing my 84th [year], and probably with it my Career in this Life; but in whatever State of Existence I am plac'd hereafter, if I retain any Memory of what has pass'd here, I shall with it retain the Esteem, Respect, and Affection, with which I have long been, my dear Friend, yours most sincerely, B. FRANKLIN.[2]

[1] In Washington Papers, Vol. 74, p. 132. — ED.

[2] Washington replied to this letter as follows: —

"New York, September, 23, 1789. (A. P. S.)

"DEAR SIR,

"The affectionate congratulations on the recovery of my health, and the warm expressions of personal friendship, which were contained in your letter of the 16th instant, claim my gratitude. And the consideration, that it was written when you were afflicted with a painful malady, greatly increases my obligation for it.

"Would to God, my dear Sir, that I could congratulate you upon the removal of that excruciating pain, under which you labour, and that your existence might close with as much ease to yourself, as its continuance has been beneficial to our country and useful to mankind; or, if the united wishes of a free people, joined with the earnest prayers of every friend to science and humanity, could relieve the body from pains or infirmities, that you could

1769. TO COMTE DE MONTMORIN[1] (L. C.)

Philadelphia 21st Sept. 1789.

SIR: — Tho' I have not the Vanity to suppose that I have any Influence with your Excellency, yet I cannot at the request of Mr. Le Ray de Chaumont, Jr., refuse him this Testimony of my Regard. He has resided in this Country near four Years, during which time he has constantly conducted himself with so much Probity and Discretion as to gain the esteem of all Ranks, and by his living in the House of M. de Marbois, Consul of France at this Port, who has occasionally employ'd him in the Duties of that office, he has thereby acquired a Knowledge of that Business, sufficient to enable him to execute it. Should it please your Excellency to appoint him in the Room of M. de Marbois, who, as I understand, is likely to be otherwise provided for. By M. de Chaumont's Knowledge of the Business, the Language of the Country, and the high Esteem in which he is held here, I am Confident that his appointment would be both useful to his Sovereign and agreable to the Government and Citizens of this State.

claim an exemption on this score. But this cannot be, and you have within yourself the only resource to which we can confidently apply for relief, a philosophic mind.

"If to be venerated for benevolence, if to be admired for talents, if to be esteemed for patriotism, if to be beloved for philanthropy, can gratify the human mind, you must have the pleasing consolation to know, that you have not lived in vain. And I flatter myself that it will not be ranked among the least grateful occurrences of your life to be assured, that, so long as I retain my memory, you will be recollected with respect, veneration, and affection by your sincere friend, "GEORGE WASHINGTON." — ED.

[1] Armand-Marc, Comte de Montmorin — Saint-Hérem (1745–1792), was appointed in 1787 minister of foreign affairs. — ED.

I hope your Excellency will excuse the Liberty I have taken, and believe me, with great Respect, sir your Excellency, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

1770. TO MRS. JANE MECOM (L. C.)

Philada., October 19, 1789.

DEAR SISTER: — I received your kind Letter of September the 10th, by Cousin John Williams. I have also received and paid your Bill, and am pleased that you added to it on Account of your Wood. As to my Health, it continues as usual, — sometimes better, sometimes worse, — and with respect to the Happiness hereafter which you mention, I have no Doubts about it, confiding as I do in the goodness of that Being who, thro' so long a Life, has conducted me with so many Instances of it. This Family joins in best wishes of Happiness to you and your's with your affectionate Brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

1771. TO "SYLVANUS URBAN ESQ." (L. C.)

New York, Oct. 20, 1789

IN your valuable Magazine[1] for July, 1788, I find a review of Dr. Kippis' "Life of Cook," containing the following Remark, viz.: "The Protection afforded to this Discoverer by the Court of France redounds highly to Mr. Turgot's Honour, while the narrow-souled Americans did all they could to obstruct him." I think the Writer of this Remark will

[1] *The Gentleman's Magazine.* It was edited in 1788 and 1789 by J. Nichols and D. Henry. The latter is to be understood as the "Sylvanus Urban" to whom the letter is addressed. — ED.

find it difficult to produce a single Instance, well authenticated, of any such Endeavour, used by the Americans; but I happen to have it in my Power to produce a strong contrary Instance, which I send you enclosed, and doubt not of your doing so much Justice to the Americans as to make this Refutation of the Calumny equally public with the Calumny itself, by inserting it also in your Magazine. It is a true Copy of the circular-Letter sent by Dr. Franklin to all of the Commanders of the American Cruisers, then in the European Seas; which was so well known to and so well taken by the Government in England that when Cook's Voyage was printed the Admiralty sent to that Gentleman an elegant Copy of it, with a very polite Letter from Lord Howe, expressing that the Present was made with his Majesty's Approbation. The Royal Society also on the same Occasion presented him with one of the Gold Medals struck by them of that illustrious Navigator, accompanied by a Letter from Sir Joseph Banks, their President, expressing likewise that it was sent with the Approbation of his Majesty. These I have seen; and I wonder much that the Writer, who gives so particular an Account of the Distribution of those gold Medals, should be unacquainted with this Circumstance. I am etc.

AN AMERICAN.

1772. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] Oct. 26, 1789

DEAR COUSIN

I received your Letter from Boston just as you were about to depart for Virginia together with your Father's Account

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. Louis A. Biddle. — ED.

which makes a Balance of upwards of £20. due to me. As he has taken a great deal of Trouble in my Sister's Affairs I do not think it right to expect Payment of that Ballance and have therefore wrote to him by your Brother enclosing a Receipt in full for the same.

I am glad you have disposed of the little Book for my Sister tho' at so low a rate. If you go from Virginia to England without calling here give my Love to your Wife and Sisters, and to Mr. Alexander, your Uncle, and let Mrs. Williams know that I shall be happy to see her and her sweet Girl arrive here with you. My best Wishes attend you, being ever,

Your affectionate Uncle
B. FRANKLIN.

1773. TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER (L. C.)

Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1789

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You may remember, that two or three Years ago, I communicated to you a Claim I had upon the State of Virginia, on Account of a Purchase it had made of some Types & other printing Materials belonging to me at the Beginning of the Troubles; The Value could not at that Time be ascertained. Mr. Bache, my Attorney, being unacquainted with it; & my Papers and Accounts being lost & destroyed during the late Confusions. I have now no Means of discovering what the Quantity was of the Types & what they cost me; I only remember that there was a Fount of Law-Character for which I paid 30£ Sterl^{g} & a large Fount of Greek which I think was valued at about 40£ Sterl. besides a very con-

siderable Fount of Long-Primer, the Weight of which I forget, but suppose it might be about 500lb which at 1/6 per lb amounted to 37£ 10/ Sterl^g. There were also some Cases & other Things of which I cannot speak particularly. You were so kind as to offer me your Assistance in procuring from the Government some Satisfaction for this Claim, I now take the Liberty to request that you would endeavour it as soon as possible, as I wish to have all my Affairs settled before my Departure: The Law-Fount & the Greek were probably of no Use to the Government, & I should be willing to take them back if they still exist, and are entire. I suppose that the Value of Goods at that Time will be considered, as well as the Length of Time during which the Payment has been delayed. I submit the Whole to the Honour & Equity of the Government, & shall be thankful for what they will be pleased to allow me. My best Wishes attend you, being ever

My Dear Friend,

Your's most affectionately

B FRANKLIN.

1774. TO DONATIEN LE RAY DE CHAUMONT, FILS (L. C.)

Philadelphia, Oct. 31st, 1789.

DEAR FRIEND: — I was too much indisposed yesterday to write in answer to your affecting Letter, but I have considered the Case very attentively and will now give you the Result. In the first Place, what you demand of me is impracticable The Sum I have to draw upon in France being but little more than half of what you require; and upon that

small Sum, tho' my late extraordinary Expences in Building have much straitened me in furnishing my ordinary Expences, I dare not draw, under the present Circumstances of Affairs in that Country, lest thro' the Lowness of the Funds I should lose perhaps half my Property in selling out to pay the Bills, or in Case of public Bankruptcy, which I find is apprehended by many as a possible Case, my Bills should be returned under a Protest which, besides the Damages, would extremely embarrass me. By the last Accounts I received I suffered a loss of 15 per cent. in the Sale of my Funds to produce Money for the Payment of a Bill for 10,000 Livres, which I sold towards the End of the last Year, and we now learn from the public Prints that the new proposed Loan of 30 Millions does not fill, and that Mr. Neckar is discouraged and in bad Health, which together has occasioned the Funds to fall much lower. In the next Place, it seems to me that in your present Circumstances (excuse my Freedom in presuming to give you my Advice), it would be more adviseable for you to remain here a few Months longer, in order to finish your Affair with the Congress. They meet again in the Beginning of January, and there is no Doubt but the Officers thro' whose Hands such Affairs must pass, will be present, and your Accounts having been already examined and passed, I am of your Opinion, that they will probably be some of the first paid. Money, I think, will not be wanting, as it is thought that the immense Importation of Goods lately made into this Port must produce at least one-fourth of the Import expected from the whole of the United States. If you should be absent at the next Meeting of Congress it may occasion a still further Delay of Payment for want of somebody present to solicit the Business, which would be a further Prejudice

to the Creditors. If you should conclude to stay I would write a letter to your Father, which he might show to them, expressing that your Stay was by my Counsel, with the Reasons, and that as soon as the Congress should meet I would support your Application for immediate Payment with my strongest Interest. This Delay of two or three Months, I should think, cannot make much Difference in your Father's Affairs, the present Disorders of that Country being considered: Or if you apprehend, as you have mentioned, that the Creditors may suspect your having an Intention of assuming to your own Use the Property of your Father, you may, to prevent such Suspicions, offer the Creditors to deliver up to them or to any Person they shall please to appoint, all the Papers ascertaining your [imperfect]

1775. TO ROBERT MORRIS (L. C.)

Philada., Nov. 2, 1789

DEAR SIR: — I should be glad if it might suit you to spare half an Hour some Day this Week, to settle between us the Loss that accrued on the Sale of my Funds in France, for the Payment of the Bills I furnished you with. The sooner the better, as I find myself growing weaker daily, and less fit for Business.

I am your affectionate Friend and humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. — I enclose the two last Letters received from Messrs. Grand & Co., together with their Account, from which you may, at your Leisure, make the Computation. By the

Letters you will perceive the care that was taken to choose the most favourable Time for the Sale of those Funds. As I reckon it, there is 10¼ per cent. loss on 16,000 livres of the 23,000 sold on the 23d of March, and 8 per cent. loss on the 80,000 sold April the 8th.

1776. TO JAMES LOGAN (L. C.)

Philada., Nov. 2, 1789.

DEAR SIR: — Apprehending there is some Danger of my slipping through your Fingers if the Business we are engaged in is longer delayed, I feel uneasy till the vacant Trusteeships are filled up, and the Deed recorded. I wish therefore it may be agreable to you that we have a Meeting soon for that Purpose.

With great Esteem and Respect, I am, sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

1777. TO BENJAMIN VAUGHAN[1]

Philadelphia, November 2, 1789.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of August 8th. I thank you much for your intimations of the virtues of hemlock, but I have tried so many things with so little effect, that I am quite discouraged, and have no longer any faith in remedies for the stone. The palliating system is what I am now fixed in. Opium gives me ease when I am attacked by pain, and by the

[1] First printed by Sparks, Vol. X, p. 397. — ED.

use of it I still make life at least tolerable. Not being able, however, to bear sitting to write, I now make use of the hand of one of my grandsons, dictating to him from my bed.

I wish, indeed, I had tried this method sooner; for so, I think, I might by this time have finished my Memoirs, in which I have made no progress for these six months past. I have now taken the resolution to endeavour completing them in this way of dictating to an amanuensis. What is already done, I now send you, with an earnest request that you and my good friend Dr. Price would be so good as to take the trouble of reading it, critically examining it, and giving me your candid opinion whether I had best publish or suppress it; and if the first, then what parts had better be expunged or altered. I shall rely upon your opinions, for I am now grown so old and feeble in mind, as well as body, that I cannot place any confidence in my own judgment. In the mean time, I desire and expect that you will not suffer any copy of it, or of any part of it, to be taken for any purpose whatever.

You present me with a pleasing idea of the happiness I might have enjoyed in a certain great house, and in the conversation of its excellent owner, and his well chosen guests, if I could have spent some more time in England. That is now become impossible. My best wishes, however, attend him and his amiable son, in whose promising virtues and abilities I am persuaded the father will find much satisfaction.

The revolution in France is truly surprising. I sincerely wish it may end in establishing a good constitution for that country. The mischiefs and troubles it suffers in the operation, however, give me great concern.

You request advice from me respecting your conduct and

writings, and desire me to tell you their faults. As to your conduct, I know of nothing that looks like a fault, except your declining to act in any public station, although you are certainly qualified to do much public good in many you must have had it in your power to occupy. In respect to your writings, your language seems to me to be good and pure, and your sentiments generally just; but your style of composition wants perspicuity, and this I think owing principally to a neglect of method. What I would therefore recommend to you is, that, before you sit down to write on any subject, you would spend some days in considering it, putting down at the same time, in short hints, every thought which occurs to you as proper to make a part of your intended piece. When you have thus obtained a collection of the thoughts, examine them carefully with this view, to find which of them is properest to be presented *first* to the mind of the reader, that he, being possessed of that, may the more easily understand it, and be better disposed to receive what you intend for the *second;* and thus I would have you put a figure before each thought, to mark its future place in your composition. For so, every preceding proposition preparing the mind for that which is to follow, and the reader often anticipating it, he proceeds with ease, and pleasure, and approbation, as seeming continually to meet with his own thoughts. In this mode you have a better chance for a perfect production; because, the mind attending first to the sentiments alone, next to the method alone, each part is likely to be better performed, and I think too in less time.

You see I give my counsel rather bluntly, without attempting to soften my manner of finding fault by any apology, which would give some people great offence; but in the

present situation of affairs between us, when I am soliciting the advantage of your criticisms on a work of mine, it is perhaps my interest that you should be a little offended, in order to produce a greater degree of wholesome severity. I think with you, that, if my Memoirs are to be published, an edition of them should be printed in England for that country, as well as here for this, and I shall gladly leave it to your friendly management.

We have now had one session of Congress under our new Constitution, which was conducted with, I think, a greater degree of temper, prudence, and unanimity, than could well have been expected, and our future prospects seem very favourable. The harvests of the last summer have been uncommonly plentiful and good; yet the produce bears a high price, from the great foreign demand. At the same time, immense quantities of foreign goods are crowded upon us, so as to overstock the market, and supply us with what we want at very low prices. A spirit of industry and frugality is also very generally prevailing, which, being the most promising sign of future national felicity, gives me infinite satisfaction.

Remember me most respectfully and affectionately to your good mother, sisters, and brother, and also to my dear Dr. Price; and believe me, my dearest friend, yours most sincerely,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have not received the Philosophical Transactions for the two or three last years. They are usually laid by for me at the Society's house, with my name upon them, and remain there till called for. I shall be much obliged to you, if you can conveniently take them up and send them to me.

Your mention of plagiarism puts me in mind of a charge of the same kind, which I lately saw in the British *Repository*, concerning the Chapter of Abraham and the Stranger. Perhaps this is the attack your letter hints at, in which you defended me. The truth is, as I think you observe, that I never published that Chapter, and never claimed more credit from it, than what related to the style, and the addition of the concluding threatening and promise. The publishing of it by Lord Kames, without my consent, deprived me of a good deal of amusement, which I used to take in reading it by heart out of my Bible, and obtaining the remarks of the Scripturians upon it, which were sometimes very diverting; not but that it is in itself, on account of the importance of its moral, well worth being made known to all mankind.[1] When I wrote that in the form you now have it, I wrote also another,[2] the hint of which was also taken from an ancient Jewish tradition; but, not having the same success with it as the other, I laid it aside, and have not seen it for thirty years past, till within these few days a lady of my acquaintance furnished me with a copy, which she had preserved. I think however it is not a bad one, and send it to you enclosed.

[1] See the "Parable against Persecution," Introduction, Vol. I, p. 179. — Ed.

[2] Probably the "Parable on Brotherly Love." — S.

1778. QUERIES AND REMARKS

RESPECTING ALTERATIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA [1] (L. C.)

I. OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

"*Your executive should consist of a single Person.*"

On this I would ask, Is he to have no Council? How is he to be informed of the State and Circumstances of the different Counties, their Wants, their Abilities, their Dispositions, and the Characters of the principal People, respecting their Integrity, Capacities, and Qualifications for Offices? Does not the present Construction of our Executive provide well for these particulars? And, during the Number of Years it has existed, have its Errors or Failures in answering the End of its Appointment been more or greater than might have been expected from a single Person?

"*But an Individual is more easily watched and controlled than any greater Number.*"

On this I would ask, Who is to watch and controul him? and by what Means is he to be controuled? Will not those Means, whatever they are, and in whatever Body vested, be subject to the same Inconveniencies of Expence, Delay, Obstruction of good Intentions, &c., which are objected to the present Executive?

[1] From a trans. corrected in lead pencil by Franklin. The "Queries and Remarks" were written in reply to a paper — "Hints for the Members of Convention" — published in the *Federal Gazette*, November 3, 1789. — ED.

II. THE DURATION OF THE APPOINTMENT.

"*This should be governed by the following Principles, the Independency of the Magistrate, and the Stability of his Administration; neither of which can be secured but by putting both beyond the Reach of every annual Gust of Folly and of Faction.*"

On this it may be asked, ought it not also to be put beyond the Reach of every triennial, quinquennial, or septennial Gust of Folly and of Faction, and, in short, beyond the Reach of Folly and of Faction at any Period whatever? Does not this Reasoning aim at establishing a Monarchy at least for Life, like that of Poland? or to prevent the Inconveniencies such as that Kingdom is subject to in a new Election on every Decease does it not point to an hereditary succession? Are the Freemen of Pennsylvania convinced, from a View of the History of such Governments, that it will be for their Advantage to submit themselves to a Government of such Construction?

III. ON THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

"*A plural Legislature is as necessary to good Government as a single Executive. It is not enough that your Legislature should be numerous; it should also be divided. Numbers alone are not a sufficient Barrier against the Impulses of Passion, the Combinations of Interest, the Intrigues of Faction, the Haste of Folly, or the Spirit of Encroachment. One Division should watch over and controul the other, supply its Wants, correct its Blunders, and cross its Designs, should they be criminal or erroneous. Wisdom is the specific Quality of the Legislature, grows out of the Number of the Body, and is*

made up of the Portions of Sense and Knowledge which each Member brings to it."

On this it may be asked, May not the Wisdom brought to the Legislature by each Member be as effectual a Barrier against the Impulses of Passion, &c., when the Members are united in one Body, as when they are divided? If one Part of the Legislature may controul the Operations of the other, may not the Impulses of Passion, the Combinations of Interest, the Intrigues of Faction, the Haste of Folly, or the Spirit of Encroachment in one of those Bodies obstruct the good proposed by the other, and frustrate its Advantages to the Public? Have we not experienced in this Colony, when a Province under the Government of the Proprietors, the Mischiefs of a second Branch existing in the Proprietary Family, countenanced and aided by an Aristocratic Council? How many Delays and what great Expences were occasioned in carrying on the public Business; and what a Train of Mischiefs, even to the preventing of the Defence of the Province during several Years, when distressed by an Indian war, by the iniquitous Demand that the Proprietary Property should be exempt from Taxation! The Wisdom of a few Members in one single Legislative Body, may it not frequently stifle bad Motions in their Infancy, and so prevent their being adopted? whereas, if those wise Men, in case of a double Legislature, should happen to be in that Branch wherein the Motion did not arise, may it not, after being adopted by the other, occasion lengthy Disputes and Contentions between the two Bodies, expensive to the Public, obstructing the public Business, and promoting Factions among the People, many Tempers naturally adhering obstinately to Measures they have

once publicly adopted? Have we not seen, in one of our neighbouring States, a bad Measure, adopted by one Branch of the Legislature, for Want of the Assistance of some more intelligent Members who had been packed into the other, occasion many Debates, conducted with much Asperity, which could not be settled but by an expensive general Appeal to the People? And have we not seen, in another neighbouring State, a similar Difference between the two Branches, occasioning long Debates and Contentions, whereby the State was prevented for many Months enjoying the Advantage of having Senators in the Congress of the United States? And has our present Legislative in one Assembly committed any Errors of Importance, which they have not remedied, or may not easily remedy; more easily, probably, than if divided into two Branches? And if the Wisdom brought by the Members to the Assembly is divided into two Branches, may it not be too weak in each to support a good Measure, or obstruct a bad one? The Division of the Legislature into two or three Branches in England, was it the Product of Wisdom, or the Effect of Necessity, arising from the preëxisting Prevalence of an odious Feudal System? which Government, notwithstanding this Division is now become in Fact an absolute Monarchy; since the King, by bribing the Representatives with the People's Money, carries, by his Ministers, all the Measures that please him; which is equivalent to governing without a Parliament, and renders the Machine of Government much more complex and expensive, and, from its being more complex, more easily put out of Order. Has not the famous political Fable of the Snake, with two Heads and one Body, some useful Instruction contained in it? She was going to a Brook to drink, and in her Way was to pass

thro' a Hedge, a Twig of which opposed her direct Course; one Head chose to go on the right side of the Twig, the other on the left; so that time was spent in the Contest, and, before the Decision was completed, the poor Snake died with thirst.

"*Hence it is that the two Branches should be elected by Persons differently qualified; and in short, that, as far as possible, they should be made to represent different Interests. Under this Reasoning I would establish a Legislature of two Houses. The Upper should represent the Property; the Lower the Population of the State. The upper should be chosen by Freemen possessing in Lands and Houses one thousand Pounds; the Lower by all such as had resided four Years in the Country, and paid Taxes. The first should be chosen for four, the last for two years. They should in Authority be co-equal.*"

Several Questions may arise upon this Proposition. 1st. What is the Proportion of Freemen possessing Lands and Houses of one thousand Pounds' value, compared to that of Freemen whose Possessions are inferior? Are they as one to ten? Are they even as one to twenty? I should doubt whether they are as one to fifty. If this minority is to chuse a Body expressly to controul that which is to be chosen by the great Majority of the Freemen, what have this great Majority done to forfeit so great a Portion of their Right in Elections? Why is this Power of Controul, contrary to the spirit of all Democracies, to be vested in a Minority, instead of a Majority? Then is it intended, or is it not, that the Rich should have a Vote in the Choice of Members for the lower House, while those of inferior Property are deprived of the Right of voting for Members of the upper House? And why should the

upper House, chosen by a Minority, have equal Power with the lower chosen by a Majority? Is it supposed that Wisdom is the necessary concomitant of Riches, and that one Man worth a thousand Pounds must have as much Wisdom as Twenty who have each only 999; and why is Property to be represented at all? Suppose one of our Indian Nations should now agree to form a civil Society; each Individual would bring into the Stock of the Society little more Property than his Gun and his Blanket, for at present he has no other. We know, that, when one of them has attempted to keep a few Swine, he has not been able to maintain a Property in them, his neighbours thinking they have a Right to kill and eat them whenever they want Provision, it being one of their Maxims that hunting is free for all; the accumulation therefore of Property in such a Society, and its Security to Individuals in every Society, must be an Effect of the Protection afforded to it by the joint Strength of the Society, in the Execution of its Laws. Private Property therefore is a Creature of Society, and is subject to the Calls of that Society, whenever its Necessities shall require it, even to its last Farthing; its Contributions therefore to the public Exigencies are not to be considered as conferring a Benefit on the Publick, entitling the Contributors to the Distinctions of Honour and Power, but as the Return of an Obligation previously received, or the Payment of a just Debt. The Combinations of Civil Society are not like those of a Set of Merchants, who club their Property in different Proportions for Building and Freighting a Ship, and may therefore have some Right to vote in the Disposition of the Voyage in a greater or less Degree according to their respective Contributions; but the important ends of Civil Society, and the personal Securities

of Life and Liberty, these remain the same in every Member of the society; and the poorest continues to have an equal Claim to them with the most opulent, whatever Difference Time, Chance, or Industry may occasion in their Circumstances. On these Considerations, I am sorry to see the Signs this Paper I have been considering affords, of a Disposition among some of our People to commence an Aristocracy, by giving the Rich a predominancy in Government, a Choice peculiar to themselves in one half the Legislature to be proudly called the UPPER House, and the other Branch, chosen by the Majority of the People, degraded by the Denomination of the LOWER; and giving to this upper House a Permanency of four Years, and but two to the lower. I hope, therefore, that our Representatives in the Convention will not hastily go into these Innovations, but take the Advice of the Prophet, "*Stand in the old ways, view the ancient Paths, consider them well, and be not among those that are given to Change.*"

1779. TO JOHN WRIGHT

Philadelphia, November 4, 1789.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of July the 31st, which gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of the welfare both of yourself and your good lady, to whom please to present my respects. I thank you for the epistle of your yearly meeting, and for the card, a specimen of printing, which was enclosed.

We have now had one session of Congress, which was conducted under our new Constitution, and with as much general satisfaction as could reasonably be expected. I wish the struggle in France may end as happily for that nation. We

are now in the full enjoyment of our new government for *eleven* of the States, and it is generally thought that North Carolina is about to join it. Rhode Island will probably take longer time for consideration.

We have had a most plentiful year for the fruits of the earth, and our people seem to be recovering fast from the extravagance and idle habits, which the war had introduced; and to engage seriously in the country habits of temperance, frugality, and industry, which give the most pleasing prospect of future national felicity. Your merchants, however, are, I think, imprudent in crowding in upon us such quantities of goods for sale here, which are not written for by ours, and are beyond the faculties of this country to consume in any reasonable time. This surplus of goods is, therefore, to raise present money, sent to the vendues, or auction-houses, of which we have six or seven in and near this city; where they are sold frequently for less than prime cost, to the great loss of the indiscreet adventurers. Our newspapers are doubtless to be seen at your coffee-houses near the Exchange. In their advertisements you may observe the constancy and quantity of this kind of sales; as well as the quantity of goods imported by our regular traders. I see in your English newspapers frequent mention of our being out of credit with you; to us it appears, that we have abundantly too much, and that your exporting merchants are rather out of their senses.

I wish success to your endeavours for obtaining an abolition of the Slave Trade. The epistle from your Yearly Meeting, for the year 1758, was not the *first sowing* of the good seed you mention; for I find by an old pamphlet in my possession, that George Keith, near a hundred years since, wrote a paper against the practice, said to be "given forth by

the appointment of the meeting held by him, at Philip James's house, in the city of Philadelphia, about the year 1693;" wherein a strict charge was given to Friends, "that they should set their negroes at liberty, after some reasonable time of service, &c. &c." And about the year 1728, or 1729, I myself printed a book for Ralph Sandyford, another of your Friends in this city, against keeping negroes in slavery; two editions of which he distributed gratis. And about the year 1736, I printed another book on the same subject for Benjamin Lay, who also professed being one of your Friends, and he distributed the books chiefly among them. By these instances it appears, that the seed was indeed sown in the good ground of your profession, though much earlier than the time you mention, and its springing up to effect at last, though so late, is some confirmation of Lord Bacon's observation, that *a good motion never dies;* and it may encourage us in making such, though hopeless of their taking immediate effect.

I doubt whether I shall be able to finish my Memoirs, and, if I finish them, whether they will be proper for publication. You seem to have too high an opinion of them, and to expect too much from them.

I think you are right in preferring a mixed form of government for your country, under its present circumstances; and if it were possible for you to reduce the enormous salaries and emoluments of great officers, which are at bottom the source of all your violent factions, that form might be conducted more quietly and happily; but I am afraid, that none of your factions, when they get uppermost, will ever have virtue enough to reduce those salaries and emoluments, but will rather choose to enjoy them.

I enclose a bill for twenty-five pounds, for which, when received, please to credit my account, and out of it pay Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, of Jeffries Square, and Mr. William Vaughan, his brother, of Mincing Lane, such accounts against me as they shall present to you for that purpose. I am, my dear friend, yours very affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

1780. TO SAMUEL MOORE[1]

Philadelphia, November 5, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favour of July 25th, but had no opportunity of showing any civility to the bearer, whom you mention as coming under the auspices of William Franklin, as he did not show himself to me.

I am obliged by your kind inquiries after my health, which is still tolerably good, the stone excepted; my constitution being such, as, if it were not for that malady, might have held out yet some years longer.

I hope the fire of liberty, which you mention as spreading itself over Europe, will act upon the inestimable rights of man, as common fire does upon gold; purify without destroying them; so that a lover of liberty may find *a country* in any part of Christendom.

I see with pleasure in the public prints, that our Society[2] is still kept up and flourishes. I was an early member; for, when Mr. Shipley sent me a list of the subscribers, they were

[1] Secretary of the London Society for promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Printed from Sparks, Vol. X, p. 406. — ED.

[2] The London Society for promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. — ED.

but seventy; and, though I had no expectation then of going to England, and acting with them, I sent a contribution of twenty guineas; in consideration of which the Society were afterwards pleased to consider me a member.

I wish to the exertions of your manufacturers, who are generally excellent, and to the spirit and enterprise of your merchants, who are famed for fair and honourable dealing, all the success they merit in promoting the prosperity of your country.

I am glad our friend Small enjoys so much health, and his faculties so perfectly, as I perceive he does by his letters. I know not whether he is yet returned from his visit to Scotland, and therefore give you the trouble of the enclosed. My best wishes attend you, being ever, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

1781. TO ALEXANDER SMALL[1]

Philadelphia, November 5, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I received your several favours of April 23d, May 9th, and June 2d, together with the manuscript concerning *Ventilation*, which will be inserted in our next volume.

I have long been of your opinion, that your legal provision for the poor is a very great evil, operating as it does to the encouragement of idleness. We have followed your example, and begin now to see our error, and, I hope, shall reform it. I find by your letters, that every man has patience enough to bear calmly and coolly the injuries done to other people.

[1] From "The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin" (1818), Vol. I, p. 256. — ED.

You have perfectly forgiven the royalists, and you seem to wonder, that we should still retain any resentment against them for their joining with the savages to burn our houses, and murder and scalp our friends, our wives, and our children. I forget who it was that said, "We are commanded to forgive our enemies, but we are nowhere commanded to forgive our friends." Certain it is, however, that atrocious injuries done to us by our friends are naturally more deeply resented than the same done by enemies. They have left us, to live under the government of their King in England and Nova Scotia. We do not miss them, nor wish their return; nor do we envy them their present happiness.

The accounts you give me of the great prospects you have respecting your manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, are pleasing to me; for I still love England and wish it prosperity. You tell me, that the government of France is abundantly punished for its treachery to England in assisting us. You might also have remarked, that the government of England had been punished for its treachery to France in assisting the Corsicans, and in seizing her ships in time of full peace, without any previous declaration of war. I believe governments are pretty near equal in honesty, and cannot with much propriety praise their own in preference to that of their neighbours.

You do me too much honour in naming me with Timoleon. I am like him only in retiring from my public labours; which indeed my stone, and other infirmities of age, have made indispensably necessary.

I hope you are by this time returned from your visit to your native country, and that the journey has given a firmer consistence to your health. Mr. Penn's property in this country,

which you inquire about, is still immensely great; and I understand he has received ample compensation in England for the part he lost.

I think you have made a happy choice of rural amusements; the protection of the bees, and the destruction of the hop insect. I wish success to your experiments, and shall be glad to hear the result. Your Theory of Insects appears the most ingenious and plausible of any, that have hitherto been proposed by philosophers.

Our new Constitution is now established with *eleven* States, and the accession of a twelfth is soon expected. We have had one session of Congress under it, which was conducted with remarkable prudence, and a good deal of unanimity. Our late harvests were plentiful, and our produce still fetches a good price, through an abundant foreign demand and the flourishing state of our commerce. I am ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

1782. AN ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC;

FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, AND THE RELIEF OF FREE NEGROES UNLAWFULLY HELD IN BONDAGE.

IT is with peculiar satisfaction we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavours have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Encouraged by this success, and by the daily progress of that luminous and benign spirit of liberty, which is diffusing

itself throughout the world, and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labours, we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plan, and do therefore earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion, or relish the exalted pleasure of beneficence.

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains, that bind his body, do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine, by the will of a master, reflection is suspended; he has not the power of choice; and reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct, because he is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless; perhaps worn out by extreme labour, age, and disease.

Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national policy; but, as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

To instruct, to advise, to qualify those, who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty, to promote in them habits of industry, to furnish

them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances, and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life; these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these our hitherto too much neglected fellow-creatures.

A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the Society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or subscriptions for this purpose, which may be made to our treasurer, James Starr, or to James Pemberton, chairman of our committee of correspondence.

Signed, by order of the Society,

B. FRANKLIN, *President.*

Philadelphia, 9th of November, 1789.

1783. TO JEAN BAPTISTE LE ROY[1]

Philadelphia, November 13, 1789

IT is now more than a year, since I have heard from my dear friend Le Roy. What can be the reason? Are you still living? Or have the mob of Paris mistaken the head of a monopolizer of knowledge, for a monopolizer of corn, and paraded it about the streets upon a pole.

Great part of the news we have had from Paris, for near a year past, has been very afflicting. I sincerely wish and pray

[1] From "The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin" (1818), Vol. I, p. 258. — ED.

it may all end well and happy, both for the King and the nation. The voice of *Philosophy* I apprehend can hardly be heard among those tumults. If any thing material in that way had occurred, I am persuaded you would have acquainted me with it. However, pray let me hear from you a little oftener; for, though the distance is great, and the means of conveying letters not very regular, a year's silence between friends must needs give uneasiness.

Our new Constitution is now established, and has an appearance that promises permanency; but in this world nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes.

My health continues much as it has been for some time, except that I grow thinner and weaker, so that I cannot expect to hold out much longer.

My respects to your good brother, and to our friends of the Academy, which always has my best wishes for its prosperity and glory. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

1784. TO M. LE VEILLARD (L. C.)

Philada., Nov. 13, 1789

DEAR FRIEND:—This must be but a short Letter, for I have mislaid your last and must postpone answering them till I have found them; but to make you some Amends I send you what is done of the Memoirs, under this express Condition however, that you do not suffer any Copy to be taken of them, or of any Part of them, on any Account whatever, and that you will, with your excellent Friend the Duke de la Rochefoucault, read them over carefully, examine them critically,

and send me your friendly, candid Opinion of the Parts you would advise me to correct or expunge; this in Case you should be of Opinion that they are generally proper to be published; and if you judge otherwise, that you would send me that Opinion as soon as possible, and prevent my taking farther Trouble in endeavouring to finish them. I send you also the Paper you desire respecting our Payment of old English Debts.

The Troubles you have had in Paris have afflicted me a great deal. I hope by this Time they are over, and everything settled as it should be, to the Advantage both of the King and Nation.

My love to good Mme. Le Veillard and your Children, in which Sec'y Benjamin joins; and believe me as ever, your affectionate Friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

1785. TO DONATIEN LE RAY DE CHAUMONT

(L. C.)

Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1789.

MY GOOD AND DEAR OLD FRIEND: — Your very valuable Son came to this Town lately with the full Intention of taking his Passage for France in Obedience to the Commands of his much respected Father and Mother, and supposing that his Presence there would be useful to the Affairs of the Family. But on his communicating his Purpose to me and acquainting me at the same Time with the present Situation of his Demand upon Congress, where your Accounts against them have been examined and approved, and the Payment only delayed 'till by the Operation of our New Constitution the Congress shall be furnished with Money to discharge them,

I could not help thinking it would be more adviseable for him to postpone his Voyage two or three Months when he might hope to see his Business here completed to his and your Satisfaction, than to leave it in its present State, which might occasion a much longer Delay; for the Impost Law, passed at the last Session of Congress, being now in full Force thro' all the States of the Union [imperfect] Importation of Goods on which [imperfect] Duties are paid having lately been immensely great, the flow of Money into the Treasury must be proportionable, so that when they meet again, which will be early in January next, they will find themselves in Possession of a very considerable Sum; and as their Debt to you was one of the earliest they contracted, I suppose it will of Course be one of the first they will think of discharging; and I have promised him to use my best Interest and Endeavours with them for that Purpose. He has accordingly thought fit to take my Advice, and I hope it will be approved by you and his good Mother, and that this short Delay will not occasion any great Inconvenience; whereas if he should be absent when the first Payments are made, his Affair might be postponed for another Year. We hope indeed that when he does visit you, you will not think of detaining and fixing him in France; for we are not willing to part with him; his Behaviour having been such, during his Residence among us, as to obtain for him the Good-Will, Respect and Esteem of all who have had the Pleasure of knowing him.

Pray make my Respects acceptable to good Madame [imperfect].

B. FRANKLIN.

1786. TO DAVID HARTLEY (L. C.)

Philad^{a}, Decr 4, 1789.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

I received your Favor of August last. Your kind Condolences on the painful State of my Health are very obliging. I am thankful to God, however, that, among the numerous Ills human Life is subject to, one only of any Importance is fallen to my Lot; and that so late as almost to insure that it can be but of short Duration.

The Convulsions in France are attended with some disagreable Circumstances; but if by the Struggle she obtains and secures for the Nation its future Liberty, and a good Constitution, a few Years' Enjoyment of those Blessings will amply repair all the Damages their Acquisition may have occasioned. God grant, that not only the Love of Liberty, but a thorough Knowledge of the Rights of Man, may pervade all the Nations of the Earth, so that a Philosopher may set his Foot anywhere on its Surface, and say, "This is my Country."

Your Wishes for a cordial and perpetual Friendship between Britain and her ancient Colonies are manifested continually in every one of your Letters to me; something of my Disposition on the same Subject may appear to you in casting your Eye over the enclosed Paper. I do not by this Opportunity send you any of our Gazettes, because the Postage from Liverpool would be more than they are worth. I can now only add my best Wishes of every kind of Felicity for the three amiable Hartleys, to whom I have the honor of being an affectionate friend and most obedient humble servant, [B. FRANKLIN.]

1787. TO MRS. JANE MECOM[1]

Philadelphia, December 17, 1789.

DEAR SISTER,

You tell me you are desired by an acquaintance to ask my opinion, whether the general circumstances mentioned in the history of Baron Trenck are founded in fact; to which I can only answer, that, of the greatest part of those circumstances, the scene being laid in Germany, I must consequently be very ignorant; but of what he says as having passed in France, between the ministers of that country, himself, and me, I can speak positively, that it is *founded in falsehood*, and that the fact can only serve to confound, as I never saw him in that country, nor ever knew or heard of him anywhere, till I met with the abovementioned history in print, in the German language, in which he ventured to relate it as a fact, that I had, with those ministers, solicited him to enter into the American service. A translation of that book into French has since been printed, but the translator has omitted that pretended fact, probably from an apprehension, that its being in that country known not to be true might hurt the credit and sale of the translation.

I thank you for the sermon on Sacred Music. I have read it with pleasure. I think it a very ingenious composition. You will say this is natural enough, if you read what I have formerly written on the same subject in one of my printed letters, wherein you will find a perfect agreement of sentiment respecting the complex music, of late, in my opinion, too much in vogue; it being only pleasing to learned ears, which can be

[1] From "The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin" (1818), Vol. I, p. 260. — ED.

delighted with the difficulty of execution, instead of harmony and melody. Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

1788. TO —— (L. C.)

Philada., Decr 19, 1789.

DEAR FRIEND: — I have received your kind Letter of the 5th Inst., together with your Present of Metheglin, of which I have already drank almost a Bottle. I find it excellent; please to accept my thankful Acknowledgments.

The Letter of yours enclosed is from the Widow of a Jew, who, happening to be one of a Number of Passengers, that were about 40 Years ago in a Stage-Boat going to New York, and which, by the unskillful management of the Boatman, overset the Canoe from whence I was endeavouring to get on board her, near Staten Island, has ever since worried me with Demands of a Gratis for having, as he pretended, been instrumental in saving my Life; tho' that was in no Danger, as we were near the Shore, and you know what an expert Swimmer I am, and he was no more of any Service to me in stopping the Boat to take me in than every other Passenger; to all whom I gave a liberal Entertainment at the Tavern when we arrived at New York, to their general satisfaction, at the Time; but this Hayes never saw me afterwards, at New York, or Brunswick, or Philada. that he did not dun me for Money on the Pretence of his being poor, and having been so happy as to be Instrumental in saving my Life, which was really in no Danger. In this way he got of me sometimes a double Joannes, sometimes a Spanish Doubloon, and never less; how much in the whole I do not know, having

kept no Account of it; but it must have been a very considerable Sum; and he never incurr'd any Risque, nor was at any Trouble in my Behalf, I have long since thought him well paid for any little Expence of Humanity he might have felt on the Occasion. He seems, however, to have left me to his Widow as part of her Dowry.

1789. TO MILES MERWIN (A. P. S.)

Dec. 21. '89.

A PAINFUL illness has hitherto prevented Dr. Franklin's answering Mr. Merwin's obliging letter. He is extreamly sensible of the Honour proposed to be done him by the Dedication, and requests Mr. Merwin to accept his Thanks; but cannot give his Consent to the publishing such excessive / extensive Encomiums on his own Conduct, and hopes Mr Merwin will excuse the Refusal.

1790. TO NOAH WEBSTER (L. L.) (L. C.)

Philad^a^, Decr 26, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I received some Time since your *Dissertations on the English Language.* The Book was not accompanied by any Letter or Message, informing me to whom I am obliged for it, but I suppose it is to yourself. It is an excellent Work, and will be greatly useful in turning the Thoughts of our Countrymen to correct Writing. Please to accept my Thanks for it as well as for the great honour you have done me in

its Dedication. I ought to have made this Acknowledgment sooner, but much Indisposition prevented me.

I cannot but applaud your Zeal for preserving the Purity of our Language, both in its Expressions and Pronunciation, and in correcting the popular Errors several of our States are continually falling into with respect to both. Give me leave to mention some of them, though possibly they may have already occurred to you. I wish, however, in some future Publication of yours, you would set a discountenancing Mark upon them. The first I remember is the word *improved*. When I left New England, in the year 23, this Word had never been used among us, as far as I know, but in the sense of *ameliorated* or *made better*, except once in a very old Book of Dr. Mather's, entitled *Remarkable Providences*. As that eminent Man wrote a very obscure Hand, I remember that when I read that Word in his Book, used instead of the Word *imployed*, I conjectured that it was an Error of the Printer, who had mistaken a too short *l* in the Writing for an *r*, and a *y* with too short a Tail for a *v*; whereby *imployed* was converted into *improved*.

But when I returned to Boston, in 1733, I found this Change had obtained Favour, and was then become common; for I met with it often in perusing the Newspapers, where it frequently made an Appearance rather ridiculous. Such, for Instance, as the Advertisement of a Country-House to be sold, which had been many years *improved* as a Tavern; and, in the Character of a deceased Country Gentleman, that he had been for more than 30 Years *improved* as a Justice-of-Peace. This Use of the Word *improved* is peculiar to New England, and not to be met with among any other Speakers of English, either on this or the other Side of the Water.

During my late Absence in France, I find that several other new Words have been introduced into our parliamentary Language; for Example, I find a Verb formed from the Substantive *Notice; I should not have* NOTICED *this, were it not that the Gentleman*, &c. Also another Verb from the Substantive *Advocate; The Gentleman who* ADVOCATES *or has* ADVOCATED *that Motion*, &c. Another from the Substantive *Progress*, the most awkward and abominable of the three; *The committee, having* PROGRESSED, *resolved to adjourn*. The Word *opposed*, tho' not a new Word, I find used in a new Manner, as, *The Gentlemen who are* OPPOSED *to this Measure; to which I have also myself always been* OPPOSED. If you should happen to be of my Opinion with respect to these Innovations, you will use your Authority in reprobating them.

The Latin Language, long the Vehicle used in distributing Knowledge among the different Nations of Europe, is daily more and more neglected; and one of the modern Tongues, viz. the French, seems in point of Universality to have supplied its place. It is spoken in all the Courts of Europe; and most of the Literati, those even who do not speak it, have acquired Knowledge enough of it to enable them easily to read the Books that are written in it. This gives a considerable Advantage to that Nation; it enables its Authors to inculcate and spread through other Nations such Sentiments and Opinions on important Points, as are most conducive to its Interests, or which may contribute to its Reputation by promoting the common Interests of Mankind. It is perhaps owing to its being written in French, that Voltaire's Treatise on *Toleration* has had so sudden and so great an Effect on the Bigotry of Europe, as almost entirely to disarm

it. The general Use of the French Language has likewise a very advantageous Effect on the Profits of the Bookselling Branch of Commerce, it being well known, that the more Copies can be sold that are struck off from one Composition of Types, the Profits increase in a much greater Proportion than they do in making a great Number of Pieces in any other Kind of Manufacture. And at present there is no Capital Town in Europe without a French Bookseller's Shop corresponding with Paris.

Our English bids fair to obtain the second Place. The great Body of excellent printed Sermons in our Language, and the Freedom of our Writings on political Subjects, have induced a Number of Divines of different Sects and Nations, as well as Gentlemen concerned in public Affairs, to study it; so far at least as to read it. And if we were to endeavour the Facilitating its Progress, the Study of our Tongue might become much more general. Those, who have employed some Part of their Time in learning a new Language, must have frequently observed, that, while their Acquaintance with it was imperfect, Difficulties small in themselves operated as great ones in obstructing their Progress. A Book, for Example, ill printed, or a Pronunciation in speaking, not well articulated, would render a Sentence unintelligible; which, from a clear Print or a distinct Speaker, would have been immediately comprehended. If therefore we would have the Benefit of seeing our Language more generally known among Mankind, we should endeavour to remove all the Difficulties, however small, that discourage the learning it.

But I am sorry to observe, that, of late Years, those Difficulties, instead of being diminished, have been augmented. In examining the English Books, that were printed between

the Restoration and the Accession of George the 2^d^, we may observe, that all *Substantives* were begun with a capital, in which we imitated our Mother Tongue, the German. This was more particularly useful to those, who were not well acquainted with the English; there being such a prodigious Number of our Words, that are both *Verbs* and *Substantives*, and spelt in the same manner, tho' often accented differently in Pronunciation.

This Method has, by the Fancy of Printers, of late Years been laid aside, from an Idea, that suppressing the Capitals shows the Character to greater Advantage; those Letters prominent above the line disturbing its even regular Appearance. The Effect of this Change is so considerable, that a learned Man of France, who used to read our Books, tho' not perfectly acquainted with our Language, in Conversation with me on the Subject of our Authors, attributed the greater Obscurity he found in our modern Books, compared with those of the Period above mentioned, to a Change of Style for the worse in our Writers, of which Mistake I convinced him, by marking for him each *Substantive* with a Capital in a Paragraph, which he then easily understood, tho' before he could not comprehend it. This shows the Inconvenience of that pretended Improvement.

From the same Fondness for an even and uniform Appearance of Characters in the Line, the Printers have of late banished also the Italic Types, in which Words of Importance to be attended to in the Sense of the Sentence, and Words on which an Emphasis should be put in Reading, used to be printed. And lately another Fancy has induced some Printers to use the short round *s*, instead of the long one, which formerly served well to distinguish a word readily by

its varied appearance. Certainly the omitting this prominent Letter makes the Line appear more even; but renders it less immediately legible; as the paring all Men's Noses might smooth and level their Faces, but would render their Physiognomies less distinguishable.

Add to all these Improvements *backwards*, another modern Fancy, that grey Printing is more beautiful than black; hence the English new Books are printed in so dim a Character, as to be read with difficulty by old Eyes, unless in a very strong Light and with good Glasses. Whoever compares a Volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, printed between the Years 1731 and 1740, with one of those printed in the last ten Years, will be convinced of the much greater Degree of Perspicuity given by black Ink than by grey. Lord Chesterfield pleasantly remarked this Difference to Faulkener, the Printer of the Dublin *Journal*, who was vainly making Encomiums on his own Paper, as the most complete of any in the World; "But, Mr. Faulkener," said my Lord, "don't you think it might be still farther improved by using Paper and Ink not quite so near of a Colour?" For all these Reasons I cannot but wish, that our American Printers would in their Editions avoid these fancied Improvements, and thereby render their Works more agreable to Foreigners in Europe, to the great advantage of our Bookselling Commerce.

Farther, to be more sensible of the Advantage of clear and distinct Printing, let us consider the Assistance it affords in Reading well aloud to an Auditory. In so doing the Eye generally slides forward three or four Words before the Voice. If the Sight clearly distinguishes what the coming Words are, it gives time to order the Modulation of the Voice to

express them properly. But, if they are obscurely printed, or disguis'd by omitting the Capitals and long *s's* or otherwise, the Reader is apt to modulate wrong; and, finding he has done so, he is oblig'd to go back and begin the Sentence again, which lessens the Pleasure of the Hearers.

This leads me to mention an old Error in our Mode of Printing. We are sensible, that, when a Question is met with in Reading, there is a proper Variation to be used in the Management of the Voice. We have therefore a Point called an Interrogation, affix'd to the Question in order to distinguish it. But this is absurdly placed at its End; so that the Reader does not discover it, till he finds he has wrongly modulated his Voice, and is therefore obliged to begin again the Sentence. To prevent this, the Spanish Printers, more sensibly, place an Interrogation at the Beginning as well as at the End of a Question. We have another Error of the same kind in printing Plays, where something often occurs that is mark'd as spoken *aside*. But the Word *aside* is placed at the End of the Speech, when it ought to precede it, as a Direction to the Reader, that he may govern his Voice accordingly. The Practice of our Ladies in meeting five or six together to form a little busy Party, where each is employ'd in some useful Work while one reads to them, is so commendable in itself, that it deserves the Attention of Authors and Printers to make it as pleasing as possible, both to the Reader and Hearers.

After these general Observations, permit me to make one that I imagine may regard your Interest. It is that *your Spelling Book* is miserably printed here, so as in many Places to be scarcely legible, and on wretched Paper. If this is not attended to, and the new one lately advertis'd as coming

out should be preferable in these Respects, it may hurt the future Sale of yours.

I congratulate you on your Marriage, of which the Newspapers inform me. My best wishes attend you, being with sincere esteem, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

1791. TO —— (L. C.)

Philadelphia, Jan. 19, 1790.

SIR,

I rec[d] the Letter you did me the honor of writing to me respecting the Construction of the 11th Art. of the Treaty of Commerce between France and the United States. I was indeed one of the Commissioners on the Part of the United States for making that treaty, but the Commissioners have no right to explain the Treaty. Its explanation is to be sought for in its own Words, and, in case it cannot be clearly found there, then by an application to the contracting Powers.

I certainly conceived, that when the *Droit d'aubaine* was relinquished in favor of the Citizens of the United States, the relinquishing Clause was meant to extend to all the Dominions of his most Christian Majesty; and I am of Opinion, that this would not be denied, if an Explanation were requested of the Court of France; and it ought to be done, if any Difficulties arise on this subject in the French Islands, which their Courts do not determine in our Favor. But, before Congress is petitioned to make such Request, I imagine it would be proper to have the Case tried in some of the W. I. islands, and the Petition made in Consequence of a Determination against us. I have the honor to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.[1]

[1] Written in the hand of W. T. Franklin. — ED.

1792. TO EZRA STILES (L. C.)

Philad^{a}, March 9. 1790.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

I received your kind Letter of Jan'y 28, and am glad you have at length received the portrait of Gov'r Yale from his Family, and deposited it in the College Library. He was a great and good Man, and had the Merit of doing infinite Service to your Country by his Munificence to that Institution. The Honour you propose doing me by placing mine in the same Room with his, is much too great for my Deserts; but you always had a Partiality for me, and to that it must be ascribed. I am however too much obliged to Yale College, the first learned Society that took Notice of me and adorned me with its Honours, to refuse a Request that comes from it thro' so esteemed a Friend. But I do not think any one of the Portraits you mention, as in my Possession, worthy of the Place and Company you propose to place it in. You have an excellent Artist lately arrived. If he will undertake to make one for you, I shall cheerfully pay the Expence; but he must not delay setting about it, or I may slip thro' his fingers, for I am now in my eighty-fifth year, and very infirm.

I send with this a very learned Work, as it seems to me, on the antient Samaritan Coins, lately printed in Spain, and at least curious for the Beauty of the Impression. Please to accept it for your College Library. I have subscribed for the Encyclopædia now printing here, with the Intention of presenting it to the College. I shall probably depart before the Work is finished, but shall leave Directions for its Continuance to the End. With this you will receive some of the first numbers.

You desire to know something of my Religion. It is the first time I have been questioned upon it. But I cannot take your Curiosity amiss, and shall endeavour in a few Words to gratify it. Here is my Creed. I believe in one God, Creator of the Universe. That he governs it by his Providence. That he ought to be worshipped. That the most acceptable Service we render to him is doing good to his other Children. That the soul of Man is immortal, and will be treated with Justice in another Life respecting its Conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental Principles of all sound Religion, and I regard them as you do in whatever Sect I meet with them.

As to Jesus of Nazareth, my Opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think the System of Morals and his Religion, as he left them to us, the best the World ever saw or is likely to see; but I apprehend it has received various corrupting Changes, and I have, with most of the present Dissenters in England, some Doubts as to his Divinity; tho' it is a question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it, and think it needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an Opportunity of knowing the Truth with less Trouble. I see no harm, however, in its being believed, if that Belief has the good Consequence, as probably it has, of making his Doctrines more respected and better observed; especially as I do not perceive, that the Supreme takes it amiss, by distinguishing the Unbelievers in his Government of the World with any peculiar Marks of his Displeasure.

I shall only add, respecting myself, that, having experienced the Goodness of that Being in conducting me prosperously thro' a long life, I have no doubt of its Continuance in the next, though without the smallest Conceit of meriting

such Goodness. My Sentiments on this Head you will see in the Copy of an old Letter enclosed,[1] which I wrote in answer to one from a zealous Religionist, whom I had relieved in a paralytic case by electricity, and who, being afraid I should grow proud upon it, sent me his serious though rather impertinent Caution. I send you also the Copy of another Letter,[2] which will shew something of my Disposition relating to Religion. With great and sincere Esteem and Affection, I am, Your obliged old Friend and most obedient humble Servant B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Had not your College some Present of Books from the King of France? Please to let me know, if you had an Expectation given you of more, and the Nature of that Expectation? I have a Reason for the Enquiry.

I confide, that you will not expose me to Criticism and censure by publishing any part of this Communication to you. I have ever let others enjoy their religious Sentiments, without reflecting on them for those that appeared to me unsupportable and even absurd. All Sects here, and we have a great Variety, have experienced my good will in assisting them with Subscriptions for building their new Places of Worship; and, as I have never opposed any of their Doctrines, I hope to go out of the World in Peace with them all.[3]

[1] Probably the letter written to Joseph Huey. — ED.

[2] It is uncertain what letter is here alluded to, but probably the one supposed to have been written to Thomas Paine. — S.

[3] This letter was written in reply to the following query in a letter from Ezra Stiles (January 28, 1790): —

"You know, Sir, that I am a Christian, and would to Heaven all others were such as I am, except my Imperfections and Deficiencies of moral Character. As much as I know of Dr. Franklin, I have not an idea of his religious Sentiments. I wish to know the Opinion of my venerable Friend

1793. TO FRANCIS CHILDS (P. H. S.)

Philad^{a} March 10, 1790

SIR

I received your Letter enclosing the Bill of Lading for the two Boxes of Types; but the Vessel is not yet arriv'd. By your Proposal which I agreed to, I was to have them at what they cost in London, at Caslon's Foundery; and you desire me to give you Credit accordingly: But as I never before bought any such small Letters, and Caslon has not mark'd any Prices in his Specimens, I do not know at what Rates I am to credit them, till I receive his Bill or Invoice, which I therefore request you will send me by the Return of the Post. I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

1794. ON THE SLAVE-TRADE (L. C.)

Dr. Franklin's name, as President of the Abolition Society, was signed to the memorial presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in them by the Constitution, in discouraging the traffic of the human species. This was his last public act. In the debates to which this memorial

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concerning Jesus of Nazereth. He will not impute this to *Impertinence* or improper Curiosity, in one, who for so many years has continued to love, estimate, and reverence his Abilities and literary Character, with an Ardor and Affection bordering on Adoration. If I have said too much, let the Request be blotted out, and be no more; and yet I shall never cease to wish you that happy Immortality, which I believe Jesus alone has purchased for the virtuous and truly good of every religious Denomination in Christendom, and for those of every Age, Nation, and Mythology, who reverence the Deity, and are filled with Integrity, Righteousness, and Benevolence. Wishing you every Blessing, I am, dear Sir, your most obed^{t} Servt.

"EZRA STILES." — ED.

gave rise, several attempts were made to justify the trade. In the *Federal Gazette* of March 25th, 1790, there appeared an essay, signed HISTORICUS, written by Dr. Franklin, in which he communicated a Speech, said to have been delivered in the Divan of Algiers, in 1687, in opposition to the prayer of the petition of a sect called *Erika*, or Purists, for the abolition of piracy and slavery. This pretended African speech was an excellent parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackson, of Georgia. All the arguments, urged in favour of negro slavery, are applied with equal force to justify the plundering and enslaving of Europeans. It affords, at the same time, a demonstration of the futility of the arguments in defence of the slave-trade, and of the strength of mind and ingenuity of the author, at his advanced period of life. It furnishes, too, a no less convincing proof of his power of imitating the style of other times and nations, than his celebrated *Parable against Persecution*. And as the latter led many persons to search the Scriptures with a view to find it, so the former caused many persons to search the book-stores and libraries for the work from which it was said to be extracted. — DR. STUBER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FEDERAL GAZETTE

March 23d, 1790.[1]

SIR,

Reading last night in your excellent Paper the speech of Mr. Jackson in Congress against their meddling with the Affair of Slavery, or attempting to mend the Condition of the Slaves, it put me in mind of a similar One made about 100 Years since by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers, which may be seen in Martin's Account of his Consulship, anno 1687. It was against granting the Petition of the Sect called *Erika*, or Purists, who pray'd for the Abolition of Piracy and Slavery as being unjust. Mr. Jackson does not quote it; perhaps he has not seen it. If, therefore, some of its Reasonings are to be found in his eloquent Speech, it may only show that men's Interests and Intellects operate and are operated on with surprising simi-

[1] This paper is dated only twenty-four days before the author's death, which happened on the 17th of April following. — ED.

larity in all Countries and Climates, when under similar Circumstances. The African's Speech, as translated, is as follows.

"*Allah Bismillah, &c. God is great, and Mahomet is his Prophet.*

"Have these *Erika* considered the Consequences of granting their Petition? If we cease our Cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the Commodities their Countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make Slaves of their People, who in this hot Climate are to cultivate our Lands? Who are to perform the common Labours of our City, and in our Families? Must we not then be our own Slaves? And is there not more Compassion and more Favour due to us as Mussulmen, than to these Christian Dogs? We have now above 50,000 Slaves in and near Algiers. This Number, if not kept up by fresh Supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated. If we then cease taking and plundering the Infidel Ships, and making Slaves of the Seamen and Passengers, our Lands will become of no Value for want of Cultivation; the Rents of Houses in the City will sink one half; and the Revenues of Government arising from its Share of Prizes be totally destroy'd! And for what? To gratify the whims of a whimsical Sect, who would have us, not only forbear making more Slaves, but even to manumit those we have.

"But who is to indemnify their Masters for the Loss? Will the State do it? Is our Treasury sufficient? Will the *Erika* do it? Can they do it? Or would they, to do what they think Justice to the Slaves, do a greater Injustice to the Owners? And if we set our Slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their Countries;

they know too well the greater Hardships they must there be subject to; they will not embrace our holy Religion; they will not adopt our Manners; our People will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain them as Beggars in our Streets, or suffer our Properties to be the Prey of their Pillage? For Men long accustom'd to Slavery will not work for a Livelihood when not compell'd. And what is there so pitiable in their present Condition? Were they not Slaves in their own Countries?

"Are not Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian states govern'd by Despots, who hold all their Subjects in Slavery, without Exception? Even England treats its Sailors as Slaves; for they are, whenever the Government pleases, seiz'd, and confin'd in Ships of War, condemn'd not only to work, but to fight, for small Wages, or a mere Subsistence, not better than our Slaves are allow'd by us. Is their Condition then made worse by their falling into our Hands? No; they have only exchanged one Slavery for another, and I may say a better; for here they are brought into a Land where the Sun of Islamism gives forth its Light, and shines in full Splendor, and they have an Opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the true Doctrine, and thereby saving their immortal Souls. Those who remain at home have not that Happiness. Sending the Slaves home then would be sending them out of Light into Darkness.

"I repeat the Question, What is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested, that they may be planted in the Wilderness, where there is plenty of Land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free State; but they are, I doubt, too little dispos'd to labour without Compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish a good government, and

the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing, and they are treated with Humanity. The Labourers in their own Country are, as I am well informed, worse fed, lodged, and cloathed. The Condition of most of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further Improvement. Here their Lives are in Safety. They are not liable to be impress'd for Soldiers, and forc'd to cut one another's Christian Throats, as in the Wars of their own Countries. If some of the religious mad Bigots, who now teaze us with their silly Petitions, have in a Fit of blind Zeal freed their Slaves, it was not Generosity, it was not Humanity, that mov'd them to the Action; it was from the conscious Burthen of a Load of Sins, and Hope, from the supposed Merits of so good a Work, to be excus'd Damnation.

"How grossly are they mistaken in imagining Slavery to be disallow'd by the Alcoran! Are not the two Precepts, to quote no more, '*Masters, treat your Slaves with kindness; Slaves, serve your Masters with Cheerfulness and Fidelity*,' clear Proofs to the contrary? Nor can the Plundering of Infidels be in that sacred Book forbidden, since it is well known from it, that God has given the World, and all that it contains, to his faithful Mussulmen, who are to enjoy it of Right as fast as they conquer it. Let us then hear no more of this detestable Proposition, the Manumission of Christian Slaves, the Adoption of which would, by depreciating our Lands and Houses, and thereby depriving so many good Citizens of their Properties, create universal Discontent, and provoke Insurrections, to the endangering of Government and producing general Confusion. I have therefore no doubt, but

this wise Council will prefer the Comfort and Happiness of a whole Nation of true Believers to the Whim of a few *Erika*, and dismiss their Petition."

The Result was, as Martin tells us, that the Divan came to this Resolution; "The Doctrine, that Plundering and Enslaving the Christians is unjust, is at best *problematical;* but that it is the Interest of this State to continue the Practice, is clear; therefore let the Petition be rejected."

And it was rejected accordingly.

And since like Motives are apt to produce in the Minds of Men like Opinions and Resolutions, may we not, Mr. Brown, venture to predict, from this Account, that the Petitions to the Parliament of England for abolishing the Slave-Trade, to say nothing of other Legislatures, and the Debates upon them, will have a similar Conclusion? I am, Sir, your constant Reader and humble Servant, HISTORICUS.

1795. TO MRS. JANE MECOM[1]

Philadelphia, March 24, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I received your kind letter by your good neighbour, Captain Rich. The information it contained, that you continue well, gave me, as usual, great pleasure. As to myself, I have been quite free from pain for near three weeks past; and therefore not being obliged to take any laudanum, my appetite has returned, and I have recovered some part of my strength. Thus I continue to live on, while all the friends of my youth have left me, and gone to join the majority.

[1] First published by Sparks, Vol. X, p. 425. — ED.

I have, however, the pleasure of continued friendship and conversation with their children and grandchildren. I do not repine at my malady, though a severe one, when I consider how well I am provided with every convenience to palliate it, and to make me comfortable under it; and how many more horrible evils the human body is subject to; and what a long life of health I have been blessed with, free from them all.

You have done well not to send me any more fish at present. These continue good, and give me pleasure.

Do you know any thing of our sister Scott's daughter; whether she is still living, and where? This family join in love to you and yours, and to cousins Williams, with your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. It is early in the morning, and I write in bed. The awkward position has occasioned the crooked lines.

1796. TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

Philadelphia, April 8, 1790.[1]

SIR,

I received your letter of the 31st of last past, relating to encroachments made on the eastern limits of the United States by settlers under the British government, pretending that it is the *western*, and not the *eastern* river of the Bay of Passamaquoddy which was designated by the name of St. Croix, in the treaty of peace with that nation; and requesting of me to communicate any facts which my memory or papers

[1] This letter is dated only nine days before Dr. Franklin's death. — ED.

may enable me to recollect, and which may indicate the true river, which the commissioners on both sides had in their view, to establish as the boundary between the two nations.

Your letter found me under a severe fit of my malady, which prevented my answering it sooner, or attending, indeed, to any kind of business. I now can assure you, that I am perfectly clear in the remembrance that the map we used in tracing the boundary, was brought to the treaty by the commissioners from England, and that it was the same that was published by Mitchell above twenty years before. Having a copy of that map by me in loose sheets, I send you that sheet which contains the Bay of Passamaquoddy, where you will see that part of the boundary traced. I remember, too, that in that part of the boundary we relied much on the opinion of Mr. Adams, who had been concerned in some former disputes concerning those territories. I think, therefore, that you may obtain still further light from him.

That the map we used was Mitchell's map, Congress were acquainted at the time, by a letter to their Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which I suppose may be found upon their files. I have the honour to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS OF UNKNOWN OR CONJECTURAL DATE

1797. REMARKS (L. C.)

CONCERNING THE SAVAGES OF NORTH AMERICA[1]

SAVAGES we call them, because their Manners differ from ours, which we think the Perfection of Civility; they think the same of theirs.

Perhaps, if we could examine the Manners of different Nations with Impartiality, we should find no People so rude, as to be without any Rules of Politeness; nor any so polite, as not to have some Remains of Rudeness.

The Indian Men, when young, are Hunters and Warriors; when old, Counsellors; for all their Government is by Counsel of the Sages; there is no Force, there are no Prisons, no Officers to compel Obedience, or inflict Punishment. Hence they generally study Oratory, the best Speaker having the most Influence. The Indian Women till the Ground, dress the Food, nurse and bring up the Children, and preserve and hand down to Posterity the Memory of public Transactions. These Employments of Men and Women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial Wants, they have abundance of Leisure for Improvement by Conversation. Our laborious Manner of Life, compared with theirs, they esteem slavish and base; and the

[1] This paper was published in a separate pamphlet in England, in the year 1784; and afterwards, in 1787, formed a part of the edition printed for Dilly. The draft in L. C. is undated, and it is uncertain when it was written. — ED.

Learning, on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless. An Instance of this occurred at the Treaty of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, *anno* 1744, between the Government of Virginia and the Six Nations. After the principal Business was settled, the Commissioners from Virginia acquainted the Indians by a Speech, that there was at Williamsburg a College, with a Fund for Educating Indian youth; and that, if the Six Nations would send down half a dozen of their young Lads to that College, the Government would take care that they should be well provided for, and instructed in all the Learning of the White People. It is one of the Indian Rules of Politeness not to answer a public Proposition the same day that it is made; they think it would be treating it as a light matter, and that they show it Respect by taking time to consider it, as of a Matter important. They therefore deferr'd their Answer till the Day following; when their Speaker began, by expressing their deep Sense of the kindness of the Virginia Government, in making them that Offer; "for we know," says he, "that you highly esteem the kind of Learning taught in those Colleges, and that the Maintenance of our young Men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinc'd, therefore, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you, who are wise, must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some Experience of it; Several of our young People were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant

of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a Deer, or kill an Enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make *Men* of them."

Having frequent Occasions to hold public Councils, they have acquired great Order and Decency in conducting them. The old Men sit in the foremost Ranks, the Warriors in the next, and the Women and Children in the hindmost. The Business of the Women is to take exact Notice of what passes, imprint it in their Memories (for they have no Writing), and communicate it to their Children. They are the Records of the Council, and they preserve Traditions of the Stipulations in Treaties 100 Years back; which, when we compare with our Writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises. The rest observe a profound Silence. When he has finish'd and sits down, they leave him 5 or 6 Minutes to recollect, that, if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common Conversation, is reckon'd highly indecent. How different this is from the conduct of a polite British House of Commons, where scarce a day passes without some Confusion, that makes the Speaker hoarse in calling *to Order;* and how different from the Mode of Conversation in many polite Companies of Europe, where, if you do not deliver your Sentence with great Rapidity, you

are cut off in the middle of it by the Impatient Loquacity of those you converse with, and never suffer'd to finish it!

The Politeness of these Savages in Conversation is indeed carried to Excess, since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the Truth of what is asserted in their Presence. By this means they indeed avoid Disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their Minds, or what Impression you make upon them. The Missionaries who have attempted to convert them to Christianity, all complain of this as one of the great Difficulties of their Mission. The Indians hear with Patience the Truths of the Gospel explain'd to them, and give their usual Tokens of Assent and Approbation; you would think they were convinc'd. No such matter. It is mere Civility.

A Swedish Minister, having assembled the chiefs of the Susquehanah Indians, made a Sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical Facts on which our Religion is founded; such as the Fall of our first Parents by eating an Apple, the coming of Christ to repair the Mischief, his Miracles and Suffering, &c. When he had finished, an Indian Orator stood up to thank him. "What you have told us," says he, "is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat Apples. It is better to make them all into Cyder. We are much oblig'd by your kindness in coming so far, to tell us these Things which you have heard from your Mothers. In return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours. In the Beginning, our Fathers had only the Flesh of Animals to subsist on; and if their Hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young Hunters, having kill'd a Deer, made a Fire in the Woods to broil some Part of it. When they were about to satisfy their Hunger, they beheld a

beautiful young Woman descend from the Clouds, and seat herself on that Hill, which you see yonder among the blue Mountains. They said to each other, it is a Spirit that has smelt our broiling Venison, and wishes to eat of it; let us offer some to her. They presented her with the Tongue; she was pleas'd with the Taste of it, and said, 'Your kindness shall be rewarded; come to this Place after thirteen Moons, and you shall find something that will be of great Benefit in nourishing you and your Children to the latest Generations.' They did so, and, to their Surprise, found Plants they had never seen before; but which, from that ancient time, have been constantly cultivated among us, to our great Advantage. Where her right Hand had touched the Ground, they found Maize; where her left hand had touch'd it, they found Kidney-Beans; and where her Backside had sat on it, they found Tobacco." The good Missionary, disgusted with this idle Tale, said, "What I delivered to you were sacred Truths; but what you tell me is mere Fable, Fiction, and Falshood." The Indian, offended, reply'd, "My brother, it seems your Friends have not done you Justice in your Education; they have not well instructed you in the Rules of common Civility. You saw that we, who understand and practise those Rules, believ'd all your stories; why do you refuse to believe ours?"

When any of them come into our Towns, our People are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them, where they desire to be private; this they esteem great Rudeness, and the Effect of the Want of Instruction in the Rules of Civility and good Manners. "We have," say they, "as much Curiosity as you, and when you come into our Towns, we wish for Opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind Bushes, where you

are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your Company."

Their Manner of entring one another's village has likewise its Rules. It is reckon'd uncivil in travelling Strangers to enter a Village abruptly, without giving Notice of their Approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old Men usually come out to them, and lead them in. There is in every Village a vacant Dwelling, called *the Strangers' House.* Here they are plac'd, while the old Men go round from Hut to Hut, acquainting the Inhabitants, that Strangers are arriv'd, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can spare of Victuals, and Skins to repose on. When the Strangers are refresh'd, Pipes and Tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, Conversation begins, with Enquiries who they are, whither bound, what News, &c.; and it usually ends with offers of Service, if the Strangers have occasion of Guides, or any Necessaries for continuing their Journey; and nothing is exacted for the Entertainment.

The same Hospitality, esteem'd among them as a principal Virtue, is practis'd by private Persons; of which Conrad Weiser, our Interpreter, gave me the following Instance. He had been naturaliz'd among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock Language. In going thro' the Indian Country, to carry a Message from our Governor to the Council at Onondaga, he call'd at the Habitation of Canassatego, an old Acquaintance, who embrac'd him, spread Furs for him to sit on, plac'd before him some boil'd Beans and Venison, and mix'd some Rum and Water for his Drink. When he was well refresh'd, and had lit his Pipe, Canassatego began to

converse with him; ask'd how he had far'd the many Years since they had seen each other; whence he then came; what occasion'd the Journey, &c. Conrad answered all his Questions; and when the Discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white People, and know something of their Customs; I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in Seven Days they shut up their Shops, and assemble all in the great House; tell me what it is for? What do they do there?" "They meet there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn *good Things*." "I do not doubt," says the Indian, "that they tell you so; they have told me the same; but I doubt the Truth of what they say, and I will tell you my Reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my Skins and buy Blankets, Knives, Powder, Rum, &c. You know I us'd generally to deal with Hans Hanson; but I was a little inclin'd this time to try some other Merchant. However, I call'd first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for Beaver. He said he could not give any more than four Shillings a Pound; 'but,' says he, 'I cannot talk on Business now; this is the Day when we meet together to learn *Good Things*, and I am going to the Meeting.' So I thought to myself, 'Since we cannot do any Business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too,' and I went with him. There stood up a Man in Black, and began to talk to the People very angrily. I did not understand what he said; but, perceiving that he look'd much at me and at Hanson, I imagin'd he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the House, struck Fire, and lit my Pipe, waiting till the Meeting should break up. I thought too, that the Man had mention'd something of Beaver, and I suspected it

might be the Subject of their Meeting. So, when they came out, I accosted my Merchant. 'Well, Hans,' says I, 'I hope you have agreed to give more than four Shillings a Pound.' 'No,' says he, 'I cannot give so much; I cannot give more than three shillings and sixpence.' I then spoke to several other Dealers, but they all sung the same song, — Three and sixpence, — Three and sixpence. This made it clear to me, that my Suspicion was right; and, that whatever they pretended of meeting to learn *good Things*, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the Price of Beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my Opinion. If they met so often to learn *good Things*, they would certainly have learnt some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our Practice. If a white Man, in travelling thro' our Country, enters one of our Cabins, we all treat him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, we give him Meat and Drink, that he may allay his Thirst and Hunger; and we spread soft Furs for him to rest and sleep on; we demand nothing in return. But, if I go into a white Man's House at Albany, and ask for Victuals and Drink, they say, 'Where is your Money?' and if I have none, they say, 'Get out, you Indian Dog.' You see they have not yet learned those little *Good Things*, that we need no Meetings to be instructed in, because our Mothers taught them to us when we were Children; and therefore it is impossible their Meetings should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such Effect; they are only to contrive *the Cheating of Indians in the Price of Beaver.*"

NOTE. — It is remarkable that in all Ages and Countries Hospitality has been allow'd as the Virtue of those whom the civiliz'd were pleas'd to call Barba-

rians. The Greeks celebrated the Scythians for it. The Saracens possess'd it eminently, and it is to this day the reigning Virtue of the wild Arabs. St. Paul, too, in the Relation of his Voyage and Shipwreck on the Island of Melita says the Barbarous People shewed us no little kindness; for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present Rain, and because of the Cold. — F.

1798. THE RETORT COURTEOUS[1] (L. C.)

"John Oxly, Pawnbroker of Bethnal Green, was indicted for assaulting Jonathan Boldsworth on the Highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him one Silver Watch, value 5*l.* 5*s.* The Prisoner pleaded, that, having sold the Watch to the Prosecutor, and being immediately after informed by a Person who knew him, that he was not likely to pay for the same, he had only followed him and taken the Watch back again. But it appearing on the Trial, that, presuming he had not been known when he committed the Robbery, he had afterwards sued the Prosecutor for the Debt, on his Note of Hand, he was found Guilty, DEATH." — *Old Bailey Sessions Paper*, 1747.

I CHOSE the above Extract from the Proceedings at the Old Bailey in the Trial of Criminals, as a Motto or Text, on which to amplify in my ensuing Discourse. But on second Thoughts, having given it forth, I shall, after the Example of some other Preachers, quit it for the present, and leave to my Readers, if I should happen to have any, the Task of discovering what Relation there may possibly be between my Text and my Sermon.

During some Years past, the British Newspapers have been filled with Reflections on the Inhabitants of America, for *not paying their old Debts to English Merchants*. And

[1] The extract from the Sessions Paper and the first paragraph of this article are written in Franklin's hand, in ink, on the back of a letter to him from T. Barker, dated April 16, 1786. [Jonathan Boldsworth is there called *Henry*.] The article seems to be referred to in Franklin to Bishop Shipley, February 24, 1786, and is certainly the paper mentioned in a letter to Le Veillard, April 15, 1787. It is there said to have been written about a year. — ED.

from these Papers the same Reflections have been translated into Foreign Prints, and circulated throughout Europe; whereby the American Character, respecting Honour, Probity, and Justice in commercial Transactions, is made to suffer in the Opinion of Strangers, which may be attended with pernicious Consequences.

At length we are told that the British Court has taken up the Complaint, and seriously offer'd it as a reason for refusing to evacuate the Frontier Posts according to Treaty. This gives a kind of Authenticity to the Charge, and makes it now more necessary to examine the matter thoro'ly; to inquire impartially into the Conduct of both Nations; take Blame to ourselves where we have merited it; and, where it may be fairly done, mitigate the Severity of the Censures that are so liberally bestow'd upon us.

We may begin by observing, that before the War our mercantile Character was good. In Proof of this (and a stronger Proof can hardly be desired), the Votes of the House of Commons in 1774–5 have recorded a Petition signed by the Body of the Merchants of London trading to North America, in which they expressly set forth, not only that the Trade was profitable to the Kingdom, but that the Remittances and Payments were as punctually and faithfully made, as in any other Branch of Commerce whatever. These Gentlemen were certainly competent Judges, and as to that Point could have no Interest in deceiving the Government.

The making of these punctual Remittances was however a Difficulty. Britain, acting on the selfish and perhaps mistaken Principle of receiving nothing from abroad that could be produced at home, would take no Articles of our Produce that interfered with any of her own; and what did not inter-

fere, she loaded with heavy Duties. We had no Mines of Gold or Silver. We were therefore oblig'd to run the World over, in search of something that would be receiv'd in England. We sent our Provisions and Lumber to the West Indies, where Exchange was made for Sugars, Cotton, &c. to remit. We brought Mollasses from thence, distill'd it into Rum, with which we traded in Africa, and remitted the Gold Dust to England. We employ'd ourselves in the Fisheries, and sent the Fish we caught, together with Quantities of Wheat Flour, and Rice, to Spain and Portugal, from whence the Amount was remitted to England in Cash or Bills of Exchange. Great Quantities of our Rice, too, went to Holland, Hamburgh &c., and the Value of that was also sent to Britain. Add to this, that contenting ourselves with Paper, all the hard Money we could possibly pick up among the Foreign West India Islands, was continually sent off to Britain, not a Ship going thither from America without some Chests of those precious Metals.

Imagine this great Machine of mutually advantageous Commerce, going roundly on, in full Train; our Ports all busy, receiving and selling British Manufactures, and equipping Ships for the circuitous Trade, that was finally to procure the necessary Remittances; the Seas covered with those Ships, and with several hundred Sail of our Fishermen, all working for Britain; and then let us consider what Effect the Conduct of Britain, in 1774 and 1775 and the following Years, must naturally have on the future Ability of our Merchants to make the Payments in question.

We will not here enter into the Motives of that Conduct; they are well enough known, and not to her Honour. The first Step was shutting up the Port of Boston by an Act of

Parliament; the next, to prohibit by another the New England Fishery. An Army and a Fleet were sent to enforce these Acts. Here was a Stop put at once to all the mercantile Operations of one of the greatest trading Cities of America; the Fishing Vessels all laid up, and the usual Remittances, by way of Spain, Portugal, and the Straits, render'd impossible. Yet the Cry was now begun against us, *These New England People do not pay their Debts!*

The Ships of the Fleet employ'd themselves in cruising separately all along the Coast. The marine Gentry are seldom so well contented with their Pay, as not to like a little Plunder. They stopp'd and seiz'd, under slight Pretences, the American Vessels they met with, belonging to whatever Colony. This checked the Commerce of them all. Ships loaded with Cargoes destin'd either directly or indirectly to make Remittance in England, were not spared. If the Difference between the two Countries had been then accommodated, these unauthoriz'd Plunderers would have been called to account, and many of their Exploits must have been found Piracy. But what cur'd all this, set their Minds at ease, made short Work, and gave full Scope to their Piratical Disposition, was another Act of Parliament, forbidding any Inquisition into those *past* Facts, declaring them all Lawful, and all American Property to be forfeited, whether on Sea or Land, and authorizing the King's British Subjects to take, seize, sink, burn, or destroy, whatever they could find of it. The Property suddenly, and by surprise taken from our Merchants by the Operation of this Act, is incomputable. And yet the Cry did not diminish, *These Americans don't pay their Debts!*

Had the several States of America, on the Publication of

this Act seiz'd all British Property in their Power, whether consisting of Lands in their Country, Ships in their Harbours, or Debts in the Hands of their Merchants, by way of Retaliation, it is probable a great Part of the World would have deem'd such Conduct justifiable. They, it seems, thought otherwise, and it was done only in one or two States, and that under particular Circumstances of Provocation. And not having thus abolish'd all Demands, the Cry subsists, that *the Americans should pay their Debts!*

General Gage, being with his Army (before the declaration of open War) in peaceable Possession of Boston, shut its Gates, and plac'd Guards all around to prevent its Communication with the Country. The Inhabitants were on the Point of Starving. The general, though they were evidently at his Mercy, fearing that, while they had any Arms in their Hands, frantic Desperation might possibly do him some Mischief, propos'd to them a Capitulation, in which he stipulated, that if they would deliver up their Arms, they might leave the Town with their Families and *Goods*. In faith of this Agreement, they deliver'd their Arms. But when they began to pack up for their Departure, they were inform'd, that by the word *Goods*, the General understood only Household Goods, that is, their Beds, Chairs, and Tables, not *Merchant Goods;* those he was inform'd they were indebted for to the Merchants of England, and he must secure them for the Creditors. They were accordingly all seized, to an immense Value, *what had been paid for not excepted.* It is to be supposed, tho' we have never heard of it, that this very honourable General, when he returned home, made a just Dividend of those Goods, or their Value, among the said

Creditors. But the Cry nevertheless continued, *These Boston People do not pay their Debts!*

The Army, having thus ruin'd Boston, proceeded to different Parts of the Continent. They got possession of all the capital trading Towns. The Troops gorg'd themselves with Plunder. They stopp'd all the Trade of Philadelphia for near a year, of Rhode Island longer, of New York near eight Years, of Charlestown in South Carolina and Savanah in Georgia, I forget how long. This continu'd Interruption of their Commerce ruin'd many Merchants. The Army also burnt to the Ground the fine Towns of Falmouth and Charlestown near Boston, New London, Fairfield, Norwalk, Esopus, Norfolk, the chief trading City in Virginia, besides innumerable Country Seats and private Farm-Houses. This wanton Destruction of Property operated doubly to the Disabling of our Merchants, who were importers from Britain, in making their Payments, by the immoderate Loss they sustain'd themselves, and also the Loss suffered by their Country Debtors, who had bought of them the British Goods, and who were now render'd unable to pay. The Debts to Britain of course remained undischarg'd, and the Clamour continu'd, *These knavish Americans will not pay us!*

Many of the British Debts, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, arose from the Sales made of Negroes in those Provinces by the British Guinea merchants.[1] These, with all before in the country, were employed when the war came on, in raising tobacco and rice for remittance in payment of British debts. An order arrives from England, advised by one of their most celebrated *moralists*, Dr. Johnson, in his *Taxation no Tyranny*, to excite these slaves

[1] At this point the draft in L. C. terminates. — ED.

to rise, cut the throats of their purchasers, and resort to the British army, where they should be rewarded with freedom. This was done, and the planters were thus deprived of near thirty thousand of their working people. Yet the demand for those sold and unpaid still exists; and the cry continues against the Virginians and Carolinians, that *they do not pay their debts!*

Virginia suffered great loss in this kind of property by another ingenious and humane British invention. Having the small-pox in their army while in that country, they inoculated some of the negroes they took as prisoners belonging to a number of plantations, and then let them escape, or sent them, covered with the pock, to mix with and spread the distemper among the others of their colour, as well as among the white country people; which occasioned a great mortality of both, and certainly did not contribute to the enabling debtors in making payment. The war too having put a stop to the exportation of tobacco, there was a great accumulation of several years' produce in all the public inspecting warehouses and private stores of the planters. Arnold, Phillips, and Cornwallis, with British troops, then entered and overran the country, burnt all the inspecting and other stores of tobacco, to the amount of some hundred ship-loads; all which might, on the return of peace, if it had not been thus wantonly destroyed, have been remitted to British creditors. But *these d—d Virginians, why don't they pay their debts?*

Paper money was in those times our universal currency. But, it being the instrument with which we combated our enemies, they resolved to deprive us of its use by depreciating it; and the most effectual means they could contrive was to counterfeit it. The artists they employed performed so

well, that immense quantities of these counterfeits, which issued from the British government in New York, were circulated among the inhabitants of all the States, before the fraud was detected. This operated considerably in depreciating the whole mass, first, by the vast additional quantity, and next by the uncertainty in distinguishing the true from the false; and the depreciation was a loss to all and the ruin of many. It is true our enemies gained a vast deal of our property by the operation; but it did not go into the hands of our particular creditors; so their demands still subsisted, and we were still abused *for not paying our debts!*

By the seventh article of the treaty of peace, it was solemnly stipulated, that the King's troops, in evacuating their posts in the United States, should not carry away with them any negroes. In direct violation of this article, General Carleton, in evacuating New York, carried off all the negroes that were with his army, to the amount of several hundreds. It is not doubted that he must have had secret orders to justify him in this transaction; but the reason given out was, that, as they had quitted their masters and joined the King's troops on the faith of proclamations promising them their liberty, the national honour forbade returning them into slavery. The national honour was, it seemed, pledged to both parts of a contradiction, and its wisdom, since it could not do it with both, chose to keep faith rather with its old black, than its new white friends; a circumstance demonstrating clear as daylight, that, in making a present peace, they meditated a future war, and hoped, that, though the promised manumission of slaves had not been effectual in the *last*, in the *next* it might be more successful; and that, had the negroes been forsaken, no aid could be hereafter expected from those of

the colour in a future invasion. The treaty however with us was thus broken almost as soon as made, and this by the people who charge us with breaking it by not paying perhaps for some of the very negroes carried off in defiance of it. Why should England observe treaties, *when these Americans do not pay their debts?*

Unreasonable, however, as this clamour appears in general, I do not pretend, by exposing it, to justify those debtors who are still able to pay, and refuse it on pretence of injuries suffered by the war. Public injuries can never discharge private obligations. Contracts between merchant and merchant should be sacredly observed, where the ability remains, whatever may be the madness of ministers. It is therefore to be hoped the fourth article of the treaty of peace which stipulates, *that no legal obstruction shall be given to the payment of debts contracted before the war*, will be punctually carried into execution, and that every law in every State which impedes it, may be immediately repealed. Those laws were indeed made with honest intentions, that the half-ruined debtor, not being too suddenly pressed by *some*, might have time to arrange and recover his affairs so as to do justice to *all* his creditors. But, since the intention in making those acts has been misapprehended, and the acts wilfully misconstrued into a design of defrauding them, and now made a matter of reproach to us, I think it will be right to repeal them all. Individual Americans may be ruined, but the country will save by the operation; since these unthinking, merciless creditors must be contented with all that is to be had, instead of all that may be due to them, and the accounts will be settled by insolvency. When all have paid that can pay, I think the remaining British creditors, who suffered by the

inability of their ruined debtors, have some right to call upon their own government (which by its bad projects has ruined those debtors) for a compensation. A sum given by Parliament for this purpose would be more properly disposed, than in rewarding pretended loyalists, who fomented the war. And, the heavier the sum, the more tendency it might have to discourage such destructive projects hereafter.

Among the merchants of Britain, trading formerly to America, there are to my knowledge many considerate and generous men, who never joined in this clamour, and who, on the return of peace, though by the treaty entitled to an immediate suit for their debts, were kindly disposed to give their debtors reasonable time for restoring their circumstances, so as to be able to make payment conveniently. These deserve the most grateful acknowledgments. And indeed it was in their favour, and perhaps for their sakes in favour of all other British creditors, that the law of Pennsylvania, though since much exclaimed against, was made, restraining the recovery of old debts during a certain time. For this restraint was general, respecting domestic as well as British debts, it being thought unfair, in cases where there was not sufficient for all, that the inhabitants, taking advantage of their nearer situation, should swallow the whole, excluding foreign creditors from any share. And in cases where the favourable part of the foreign creditors were disposed to give time, with the views abovementioned, if others less humane and considerate were allowed to bring immediate suits and ruin the debtor, those views would be defeated. When this law expired in September, 1784, a new one was made, continuing for some time longer the restraint with respect to domestic debts, but expressly taking it away where the debt was due

from citizens of the State to any of the subjects of Great Britain;[1] which shows clearly the disposition of the Assembly, and that the fair intentions above ascribed to them in making the former act, are not merely the imagination of the writer.

Indeed, the clamour has been much augmented by numbers joining it, who really had no claim on our country. Every debtor in Britain, engaged in whatever trade, when he had no better excuse to give for delay of payment, accused the want of returns from America. And the indignation, thus excited against us, now appears so general among the English, that one would imagine their nation, which is so exact in expecting punctual payment from all the rest of the world, must be at home the model of justice, the very pattern of punctuality. Yet, if one were disposed to recriminate, it would not be difficult to find sufficient Matter in several Parts of their Conduct. But this I forbear. The two separate Nations are now at Peace, and there can be no use in mutual Provocations to fresh Enmity. If I have shown clearly that the present Inability of many American Merchants to discharge their Debts, contracted before the War, is not so much their Fault, as the Fault of the crediting Nation, who, by making an unjust War on them, obstructing their Commerce, plundering and devastating their Country, were the Cause of

[1] Extract from an Act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, entitled, "An Act for directing the Mode of recovering Debts contracted before the first Day of January, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven."

Exception in Favour of British Creditors.

"Sect. 7. And provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this Act, nor any thing therein contained, shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to any debt or debts which were due before the fourth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, by any of the citizens of the State, to any of the subjects of Great Britain." — F.

that Inability, I have answered the Purpose of writing this Paper. How far the Refusal of the British Court to execute the Treaty in delivering up the Frontier Posts may on account of this Deficiency of Payment, be justifiable, is chearfully submitted to the World's impartial Judgment.

1799. THE INTERNAL STATE OF AMERICA; (L. C.)

BEING A TRUE DESCRIPTION OF THE INTEREST AND POLICY OF THAT VAST CONTINENT[1]

THERE is a Tradition, that, in the Planting of New England, the first Settlers met with many Difficulties and Hardships as is generally the Case when a civilized People attempt establishing themselves in a wilderness Country. Being piously dispos'd, they sought Relief from Heaven, by laying their Wants and Distresses before the Lord, in frequent set Days of Fasting and Prayer. Constant Meditation and Discourse on these Subjects kept their Minds gloomy and discontented; and, like the Children of Israel, there were many dispos'd to return to that Egypt, which Persecution had induc'd them to abandon. At length, when it was proposed in the Assembly to proclaim another Fast, a Farmer of plain Sense rose, and remark'd, that the Inconveniencies they suffer'd, and concerning which they had so often weary'd Heaven with their Complaints, were not so great as they

[1] Two copies, the rough draft and a transcript, of this article exist in L. C. Sparks and Bigelow printed from the transcript. I have followed the rough draft. — ED.

might have expected, and were diminishing every day, as the Colony strengthen'd; that the Earth began to reward their Labour, and to furnish liberally for their Subsistence; that the Seas and Rivers were full of Fish, the Air sweet, the Climate healthy; and, above all, that they were there in the full Enjoyment of Liberty, civil and religious. He therefore thought, that reflecting and conversing on these Subjects would be more comfortable, as tending more to make them contented with their Situation; and that it would be more becoming the Gratitude they ow'd to the Divine Being, if, instead of a Fast, they should proclaim a Thanksgiving. His Advice was taken; and from that day to this they have, in every Year, observ'd Circumstances of public Felicity sufficient to furnish Employment for a *Thanksgiving Day;* which is therefore constantly ordered and religiously observed.

I see in the Public Papers of different States frequent Complaints of *hard Times, deadness of Trade, scarcity of Money,* &c. It is not my Intention to assert or maintain, that these Complaints are intirely without Foundation. There can be no Country or Nation existing, in which there will not be some People so circumstanced, as to find it hard to gain a Livelihood; people who are not in the way of any profitable Trade, and with whom Money is scarce, because they have nothing to give in Exchange for it; and it is always in the Power of a small Number to make a great Clamour. But let us take a cool View of the general State of our Affairs, and perhaps the Prospect will appear less gloomy than has been imagined.

The great Business of the Continent is Agriculture. For one Artisan, or Merchant, I suppose, we have at least 100

Farmers, by far the greatest part Cultivators of their own fertile Lands, from whence many of them draw, not only the Food necessary for their Subsistance, but the Materials of their Clothing, so as to have little Occasion for foreign Supplies; while they have a Surplus of Productions to dispose of, whereby Wealth is gradually accumulated. Such has been the Goodness of Divine Providence to these Regions, and so favourable the Climate, that, since the three or four Years of Hardship in the first Settlement of our Fathers here, a Famine or Scarcity has never been heard of among us; on the contrary, tho' some Years may have been more, and others less plentiful, there has always been Provision enough for ourselves, and a Quantity to spare for Exportation. And altho' the Crops of last year were generally good, never was the Farmer better paid for the Part he can spare Commerce, as the published Price-Currents abundantly testify. The Lands he possesses are also continually rising in Value with the Increase of Population; and, on the whole, he is enabled to give such good Wages to those who work for him, that all who are acquainted with the old World must agree, that in no Part of it are the labouring Poor so well fed, well cloth'd, well lodg'd, and well paid, as in the United States of America.

If we enter the Cities, we find, that, since the Revolution, the Owners of Houses and Lots of Ground have had their Interest vastly augmented in Value; Rents have risen to an astonishing Height, and thence Encouragement to encrease Building, which gives Employment to an abundance of Workmen, as does also the encreas'd Luxury and Splendor of Living of the Inhabitants, thus made richer. These Workmen all demand and obtain much higher Wages than any

other Part of the World would afford them, and are paid in ready Money. This Rank of People therefore do not, or ought not, to complain of hard Times; and they make a very considerable part of the City Inhabitants.

At the Distance I live from our American Fisheries, I cannot speak of them with any Certainty; but I have not heard, that the Labour of the valuable Race of Men employ'd in them is worse paid, or that they meet with less Success, than before the Revolution. The Whalemen indeed have been depriv'd of one Market for their Oil; but another, I hear, is opening for them, which it is hoped may be equally advantageous; and the Demand is constantly encreasing for their Spermaceti Candles, which therefore bear a much higher Price than formerly.

There remain the Merchants and Shopkeepers. Of these, tho' they make but a small Part of the whole Nation, the Number is considerable, too great indeed for the Business they are employ'd in: For the Consumption of Goods in every Country, has its Limits; the Faculties of the People, that is, their Ability to buy and pay, being equal only to a certain Quantity of Merchandize. If Merchants calculate amiss on this Proportion, and import too much, they will of course find the Sale dull for the Overplus, and some of them will say, that Trade languishes. They should, and doubtless will, grow wiser by Experience, and import less. If too many Artificers in Town, and Farmers from the Country, flattering themselves with the Idea of leading easier Lives, turn Shopkeepers, the whole natural Quantity of Business divided among them all may afford too small a Share for each, and occasion Complaints, that Trading is dead; these may also suppose, that it is owing to Scarcity of Money,

while, in fact, it is not so much from the Fewness of Buyers, as from the excessive Number of Sellers, that the Mischief arises; and, if every Shop-keeping Farmer and Mechanic would return to the Use of his Plough and working-Tools, there would remain of Widows, and other Women, Shop-keepers sufficient for that Business, which might then afford them a comfortable Maintenance.

Whoever has travelled thro' the various Parts of Europe, and observed how small is the Proportion of People in Affluence or easy Circumstances there, compar'd with those in Poverty and Misery; the few rich and haughty Landlords, the multitude of poor, abject, and rack'd Tenants, and the half-paid and half-starv'd ragged Labourers; and views here the happy Mediocrity, that so generally prevails throughout these States, where the Cultivator works for himself, and supports his Family in decent Plenty, will, methinks, see abundant Reason to bless Divine Providence for the evident and great Difference in our Favour, and be convinc'd, that no Nation that is known to us enjoys a greater Share of human Felicity.

It is true, that in some of the States there are Parties and Discords; but let us look back, and ask if we were ever without them? Such will exist wherever there is Liberty; and perhaps they help to preserve it. By the Collision of different Sentiments, Sparks of Truth are struck out, and political Light is obtained. The different Factions, which at present divide us, aim all at the Publick Good; the Differences are only about the various Modes of promoting it. Things, Actions, Measures, and Objects of all kinds, present themselves to the Minds of Men in such a Variety of Lights, that it is not possible we should all think alike at the same time on

every Subject, when hardly the same Man retains at all times the same Ideas of it. Parties are therefore the common Lot of Humanity; and ours are by no means more mischievous or less beneficial than those of other Countries, Nations, and Ages, enjoying in the same Degree the great Blessing of Political Liberty.

Some indeed among us are not so much griev'd for the present State of our Affairs, as apprehensive for the future. The Growth of Luxury alarms them, and they think we are from that alone in the high Road to Ruin. They observe, that no Revenue is sufficient without Economy, and that the most plentiful Income of a whole People from the natural Productions of their Country may be dissipated in vain and needless Expences, and Poverty be introduced in the place of Affluence. This may be possible. It however rarely happens; for there seems to be in every Nation a greater Proportion of Industry and Frugality, which tend to enrich, than of Idleness and Prodigality, which occasion Poverty; so that upon the whole there is a continual Accumulation. Reflect what Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain were in the Time of the Romans, inhabited by People little richer than our Savages, and consider the Wealth they at present possess, in numerous well-built Cities, improv'd Farms, rich Moveables, Magazines stor'd with valuable Manufactures, to say nothing of Plate, Jewels, and ready Money; and all this, notwithstanding their bad, wasteful, plundering Governments, and their mad, destructive Wars; and yet Luxury and Extravagant Living have never suffered much Restraint in those Countries. Then consider the great proportion of industrious frugal Farmers inhabiting the interior Part of these American States, and of whom the Body of our Nation

consists; and judge whether it is probable the Luxury of our Seaports can be sufficient to ruin such a Country. If the Importation of foreign Luxuries could ruin a People, we should probably have been ruin'd long ago; for the British Nation claim'd a right, and practis'd it, of importing among us, not only the Superfluities of their own Production, but those of every Nation under Heaven; we bought and consum'd them, and yet we flourish'd and grew rich. At present, our independent Governments may do what we could not then do, discourage by heavy Duties, or prevent by Prohibitions, such importations, and thereby grow richer; if, indeed, which may admit of Dispute, the Desire of adorning ourselves with fine cloaths, possessing fine Furniture, with good Houses, &c., is not, by strongly inciting to Labour and Industry, the occasion of producing a greater Value, than is consum'd in the Gratification of that Desire.

The Agriculture and Fisheries of the United States are the great Sources of our encreasing Wealth. He that puts a Seed into the Earth is recompens'd, perhaps, by receiving twenty out of it; and he who draws a Fish out of our Waters, draws up a Piece of Silver.

Let us (and there is no Doubt but we shall) be attentive to these, and then the Power of Rivals, with all their restraining and prohibiting Acts, cannot much hurt us. We are Sons of the Earth and Seas, and, like Antæus, if, in wrestling with Hercules, we now and then receive a Fall, the Touch of our Parents will communicate to us fresh Strength and Ability to renew the contest. Be quiet and thankful.

1800. CONTE

IL y avoit un officier, homme de bien, appelé Montrésor, qui étoit très-malade; son curé, croyant qu'il alloit mourir, lui conseilla de faire sa paix avec Dieu, afin d'être reçu en Paradis. "Je n'ai pas beaucoup d'inquiétude à ce sujet," dit Montrésor, "car j'ai eu, la nuit dernière, une vision qui m'a tout-à-fait tranquillisé." "Quelle vision avez-vous eue?" dit le bon prêtre. "J'étois," répondit Montrésor, "à la porte du Paradis, avec une foule de gens qui vouloient entrer. Et St. Pierre demandoit à chacun, de quelle religion il étoit. L'un répondoit, 'Je suis Catholique Romain.' 'Hé bien,' disoit St. Pierre, 'entrez, et prenez votre place là parmi les Catholiques.' Un autre dit, qu'il étoit de l'église Anglicane. 'Hé bien,' dit St. Pierre, 'entrez, et placez-vous là parmi les Anglicans.' Un autre dit qu'il étoit Quaker. 'Entrez,' dit St. Pierre, 'et prenez place parmi les Quakers.' Enfin, mon tour étant arrivé, il me demanda de quelle religion j'étois. 'Hélas!' répondis-je, 'malheureusement le pauvre Jacques Montrésor n'en a point.' 'C'est dommage,' dit le Saint, 'je ne sais où vous placer; *mais entrez toujours; vous vous mettrez où vous pourrez.*'"

1801. AN ARABIAN TALE

ALBUMAZAR, the good magician, retired in his old age to the top of the lofty mountain Calabut; avoided the society of men, but was visited nightly by genii and spirits of the first

rank, who loved him, and amused him with their instructive conversation.

Belubel, the strong, came one evening to see Albumazar; his height was seven leagues, and his wings when spread might overshadow a kingdom. He laid himself gently down between the long ridges of Elluem; the tops of the trees in the valley were his couch; his head rested on Calabut as on a pillow, and his face shone on the tent of Albumazar.

The magician spoke to him with rapturous piety of the wisdom and goodness of the Most High; but expressed his wonder at the existence of evil in the world, which he said he could not account for by all the efforts of his reason.

"Value not thyself, my friend," said Belubel, "on that quality which thou callest reason. If thou knewest its origin and its weakness, it would rather be matter of humiliation."

"Tell me then," said Albumazar, "what I do not know; inform my ignorance, and enlighten my understanding." "Contemplate," said Albumazar, "the scale of beings, from an elephant down to an oyster. Thou seest a gradual diminution of faculties and powers, so small in each step that the difference is scarce perceptible. There is no gap, but the gradation is complete. Men in general do not know, but thou knowest, that in ascending from an elephant to the infinitely Great, Good, and Wise, there is also a long gradation of beings, who possess powers and faculties of which thou canst yet have no conception."

1802. A PETITION OF THE LEFT HAND,

TO THOSE WHO HAVE THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF EDUCATION

I ADDRESS myself to all the friends of youth, and conjure them to direct their compassionate regards to my unhappy fate, in order to remove the prejudices of which I am the victim. There are twin sisters of us; and the two eyes of man do not more resemble, nor are capable of being upon better terms with each other, than my sister and myself, were it not for the partiality of our parents, who make the most injurious distinctions between us. From my infancy, I have been led to consider my sister as a being of a more elevated rank. I was suffered to grow up without the least instruction, while nothing was spared in her education. She had masters to teach her writing, drawing, music, and other accomplishments; but if by chance I touched a pencil, a pen, or a needle, I was bitterly rebuked; and more than once I have been beaten for being awkward, and wanting a graceful manner. It is true, my sister associated me with her upon some occasions; but she always made a point of taking the lead, calling upon me only from necessity, or to figure by her side.

But conceive not, Sirs, that my complaints are instigated merely by vanity. No; my uneasiness is occasioned by an object much more serious. It is the practice in our family, that the whole business of providing for its subsistence falls upon my sister and myself. If any indisposition should attack my sister, — and I mention it in confidence upon this occasion, that she is subject to the gout, the rheumatism, and cramp, without making mention of other accidents, —

what would be the fate of our poor family? Must not the regret of our parents be excessive, at having placed so great a difference between sisters who are so perfectly equal? Alas! we must perish from distress; for it would not be in my power even to scrawl a suppliant petition for relief, having been obliged to employ the hand of another in transcribing the request which I have now the honour to prefer to you.

Condescend, Sirs, to make my parents sensible of the injustice of an exclusive tenderness, and of the necessity of distributing their care and affection among all their children equally. I am, with a profound respect, Sirs, your obedient servant,

THE LEFT HAND.

1803. HINTS FOR CONSIDERATION RESPECTING THE ORPHAN SCHOOL-HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA (L. C.)

CHARITABLE Institutions, however originally well intended and well executed at first for many Years, are subject to be in a Course of time corrupted, mismanag'd, their Funds misapplied or perverted to private purposes. Would it not be well to guard against these by prudent Regulations respecting the Choice of Managers, and establishing the Power of inspecting their Conduct in some permanent Body, as the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting?

Would it not be more respectable for the Institution, if the Appearance of making a Profit of the Labour of Orphans were avoided, and the Dependence for Funds to be wholly on charitable Contributions? If this should be concluded, then it may be proper to open an Account with each Orphan

on Admission; the Orphans to have Credit for any Subsistence brought in with them, and for the Profit made of it and of their Labour, and made Debtors for their Maintenance and Education. And at their Discharge on coming of Age, to be paid the Ballance, if any, in their favour, or remain Debtors for the ballance, if against them, which they may be exhorted to pay, if ever able, but not to be compell'd. Such as receive a Ballance may be exhorted to give back a Part in Charity to the Institution that has taken such kind Care of them, or at least to remember it favourably, if hereafter God should bless them with Ability, either in Benefaction while living, or a Legacy on Decease. The Orphans, when discharg'd, to receive, besides decent Clothing and some Money, a Certificate of their good Behaviour, if such it has been, as a Recommendation; and the Managers of the Institution should still consider them as their Children, so far as to counsel them in their Affairs, encourage and promote them in their Business, watch over and kindly admonish them when in danger of Misconduct.

1804. PLAN

FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE FREE BLACKS

THE business relative to free blacks shall be transacted by a committee of twenty-four persons, annually elected by ballot, at the meeting of this Society,[1] in the month called April; and, in order to perform the different services with expedition,

[1] The Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Blacks. — ED.

regularity, and energy, this committee shall resolve itself into the following sub-committees, viz.

I. A Committee of Inspection, who shall superintend the morals, general conduct, and ordinary situation of the free negroes, and afford them advice and instruction, protection from wrongs, and other friendly offices.

II. A Committee of Guardians, who shall place out children and young people with suitable persons, that they may (during a moderate time of apprenticeship or servitude) learn some trade or other business of subsistence. The committee may effect this partly by a persuasive influence on parents and the persons concerned, and partly by coöperating with the laws, which are, or may be, enacted for this and similar purposes. In forming contracts on these occasions, the committee shall secure to the Society, as far as may be practicable, the right of guardianship over the persons so bound.

III. A Committee of Education, who shall superintend the school instruction of the children and youth of the free blacks. They may either influence them to attend regularly the schools already established in this city, or form others with this view; they shall, in either case, provide, that the pupils may receive such learning as is necessary for their future situation in life, and especially a deep impression of the most important and generally acknowledged moral and religious principles. They shall also procure and preserve a regular record of the marriages, births, and manumissions of all free blacks.

IV. A Committee of Employ, who shall endeavour to procure constant employment for those free negroes who are able to work; as the want of this would occasion poverty, idleness, and many vicious habits. This committee will,

by sedulous inquiry, be enabled to find common labour for a great number; they will also provide, that such as indicate proper talents may learn various trades, which may be done by prevailing upon them to bind themselves for such a term of years as shall compensate their masters for the expense and trouble of instruction and maintenance. The committee may attempt the institution of some useful and simple manufactures, which require but little skill, and also may assist, in commencing business, such as appear to be qualified for it.

Whenever the committee of inspection shall find persons of any particular description requiring attention, they shall immediately direct them to the committee of whose care they are the proper objects.

In matters of a mixed nature, the committees shall confer, and, if necessary, act in concert. Affairs of great importance shall be referred to the whole committee.

The expense, incurred by the prosecution of this plan, shall be defrayed by a fund, to be formed by donations or subscriptions for these particular purposes, and to be kept separate from the other funds of this Society.

The committee shall make a report of their proceedings, and of the state of their stock, to the Society, at their quarterly meetings, in the months called April and October.

1805. SOME GOOD WHIG PRINCIPLES[1]

DECLARATION of those RIGHTS of the Commonalty of Great Britain, *without which they cannot be* FREE.

It is declared,

First, That the government of this realm, and the making of laws for the same, ought to be lodged in the hands of King, Lords of Parliament, and Representatives of *the whole body* of the freemen of this realm.

Secondly, That *every man* of the commonalty (excepting infants, insane persons, and criminals) is, of common right, and by the laws of God, *a freeman*, and entitled to the free enjoyment of *liberty*.

Thirdly, That liberty, or freedom, consists in having *an actual share* in the appointment of those who frame the laws, and who are to be the guardians of every man's life, property, and peace; for the *all* of one man is as dear to him as the *all* of another; and the poor man has an *equal* right, but *more* need, to have representatives in the legislature than the rich one.

Fourthly, That they who have *no* voice nor vote in the electing of representatives, *do not enjoy* liberty; but are absolutely *enslaved* to those who *have* votes, and to their representatives; for to be enslaved is to have governors whom *other men have set over us*, and be subject to laws *made by the representatives of others*, without having had representatives of our own to give consent in *our* behalf.

Fifthly, That *a very great majority* of the commonalty of

[1] A printed paper, of which the following is a copy, was found among Dr. Franklin's papers, endorsed by him as above. — W. T. F.

this realm are denied the privilege of voting for representatives in Parliament; and, consequently, they are enslaved to a *small number*, who do now enjoy the privilege exclusively to themselves; but who, it may be presumed, are far from wishing to continue in the exclusive possession of a privilege, by which their fellow-subjects are deprived of *common right*, of *justice*, of *liberty;* and which, if not communicated to all, must speedily cause *the certain overthrow of our happy constitution*, and enslave us *all*.

And, sixthly and lastly, We also say and do assert, that it is *the right* of the commonalty of this realm to elect a *new* House of Commons once in *every year*, according to the ancient and sacred laws of the land; because, whenever a Parliament continues in being for *a longer term*, very great numbers of the commonalty, who have arrived at years of manhood since the last election, and *therefore* have a right to be actually represented in the House of Commons, are then *unjustly deprived* of that right.

1806. THE ART OF PROCURING PLEASANT DREAMS [1]

INSCRIBED TO MISS [SHIPLEY], BEING WRITTEN AT HER REQUEST

As a great part of our life is spent in sleep during which we have sometimes pleasant and sometimes painful dreams,

[1] Sparks printed this bagatelle and assigned it conjecturally to the year 1772. Bigelow followed his example. While this volume was in the press, I found the following letter to Franklin from Miss Shipley (A. P. S.) which determines the date.

"Chilbolton, Novr 13th 1786.

". . . I have particularly to thank you for "The art of procuring pleasant

it becomes of some consequence to obtain the one kind and avoid the other; for whether real or imaginary, pain is pain and pleasure is pleasure. If we can sleep without dreaming, it is well that painful dreams are avoided. If while we sleep we can have any pleasing dream, it is, as the French say, *autant de gagné*, so much added to the pleasure of life.

To this end it is, in the first place, necessary to be careful in preserving health, by due exercise and great temperance; for, in sickness, the imagination is disturbed, and disagreeable, sometimes terrible, ideas are apt to present themselves. Exercise should precede meals, not immediately follow them; the first promotes, the latter, unless moderate, obstructs digestion. If, after exercise, we feed sparingly, the digestion will be easy and good, the body lightsome, the temper cheerful, and all the animal functions performed agreeably. Sleep, when it follows, will be natural and undisturbed; while indolence, with full feeding, occasions nightmares and horrors inexpressible; we fall from precipices, are assaulted by wild beasts, murderers, and demons, and experience every variety of distress. Observe, however, that the quantities of food and exercise are relative things; those who move much may, and indeed ought to eat more; those who use little exercise should eat little. In general, mankind, since the improvement of cookery, eat about twice as much as nature

Dreams," indeed it flatter'd me exceedingly that you should employ so much of your precious time in complying with my request, but where do you read that Methusalah slept in the open air? I have searched the Bible in vain to find it. . . .

"Affectionately yours,

"C. L. SHIPLEY."

Allowing for delay in crossing the ocean, and perhaps some delay in Miss Shipley's acknowledgment of the Ms., it would seem safe to assign the writing of this bagatelle to the summer of 1786. — ED.

requires. Suppers are not bad, if we have not dined; but restless nights naturally follow hearty suppers after full dinners. Indeed, as there is a difference in constitutions, some rest well after these meals; it costs them only a frightful dream and an apoplexy, after which they sleep till doomsday. Nothing is more common in the newspapers, than instances of people who, after eating a hearty supper, are found dead abed in the morning.

Another means of preserving health, to be attended to, is the having a constant supply of fresh air in your bed-chamber. It has been a great mistake, the sleeping in rooms exactly closed, and in beds surrounded by curtains. No outward air that may come in to you is so unwholesome as the unchanged air, often breathed, of a close chamber. As boiling water does not grow hotter by longer boiling, if the particles that receive greater heat can escape; so living bodies do not putrefy, if the particles, so fast as they become putrid, can be thrown off. Nature expels them by the pores of the skin and the lungs, and in a free, open air they are carried off; but in a close room we receive them again and again, though they become more and more corrupt. A number of persons crowded into a small room thus spoil the air in a few minutes, and even render it mortal, as in the Black Hole at Calcutta. A single person is said to spoil only a gallon of air per minute, and therefore requires a longer time to spoil a chamber-full; but it is done, however, in proportion, and many putrid disorders hence have their origin. It is recorded of Methusalem, who, being the longest liver, may be supposed to have best preserved his health, that he slept always in the open air; for, when he had lived five hundred years, an angel said to him; "Arise, Methusalem, and build thee an house, for

thou shalt live yet five hundred years longer." But Methusalem answered, and said, "If I am to live but five hundred years longer, it is not worth while to build me an house; I will sleep in the air, as I have been used to do." Physicians, after having for ages contended that the sick should not be indulged with fresh air, have at length discovered that it may do them good. It is therefore to be hoped, that they may in time discover likewise, that it is not hurtful to those who are in health, and that we may be then cured of the *aërophobia*, that at present distresses weak minds, and makes them choose to be stifled and poisoned, rather than leave open the window of a bed-chamber, or put down the glass of a coach.

Confined air, when saturated with perspirable matter, will not receive more; and that matter must remain in our bodies, and occasion diseases; but it gives some previous notice of its being about to be hurtful, by producing certain uneasiness, slight indeed at first, which as with regard to the lungs is a trifling sensation, and to the pores of the skin a kind of restlessness, which is difficult to describe, and few that feel it know the cause of it. But we may recollect, that sometimes on waking in the night, we have, if warmly covered, found it difficult to get asleep again. We turn often without finding repose in any position. This fidgettiness (to use a vulgar expression for want of a better) is occasioned wholly by an uneasiness in the skin, owing to the retention of the perspirable matter — the bed-clothes having received their quantity, and, being saturated, refusing to take any more. To become sensible of this by an experiment, let a person keep his position in the bed, but throw off the bed-clothes, and suffer fresh air to approach the part uncovered

of his body; he will then feel that part suddenly refreshed; for the air will immediately relieve the skin, by receiving, licking up, and carrying off, the load of perspirable matter that incommoded it. For every portion of cool air that approaches the warm skin, in receiving its part of that vapour, receives therewith a degree of heat that rarefies and renders it lighter, when it will be pushed away with its burthen, by cooler and therefore heavier fresh air, which for a moment supplies its place, and then, being likewise changed and warmed, gives way to a succeeding quantity. This is the order of nature, to prevent animals being infected by their own perspiration. He will now be sensible of the difference between the part exposed to the air and that which, remaining sunk in the bed, denies the air access: for this part now manifests its uneasiness more distinctly by the comparison, and the seat of the uneasiness is more plainly perceived than when the whole surface of the body was affected by it.

Here, then, is one great and general cause of unpleasing dreams. For when the body is uneasy, the mind will be disturbed by it, and disagreeable ideas of various kinds will in sleep be the natural consequences. The remedies, preventive and curative, follow:

1. By eating moderately (as before advised for health's sake) less perspirable matter is produced in a given time; hence the bed-clothes receive it longer before they are saturated, and we may therefore sleep longer before we are made uneasy by their refusing to receive any more.

2. By using thinner and more porous bed-clothes, which will suffer the perspirable matter more easily to pass through them, we are less incommoded, such being longer tolerable.

3. When you are awakened by this uneasiness, and find

you cannot easily sleep again, get out of bed, beat up and turn your pillow, shake the bed-clothes well, with at least twenty shakes, then throw the bed open and leave it to cool; in the meanwhile, continuing undrest, walk about your chamber till your skin has had time to discharge its load, which it will do sooner as the air may be dried and colder. When you begin to feel the cold air unpleasant, then return to your bed, and you will soon fall asleep, and your sleep will be sweet and pleasant. All the scenes presented to your fancy will be too of the pleasing kind. I am often as agreeably entertained with them, as by the scenery of an opera. If you happen to be too indolent to get out of bed, you may, instead of it, lift up your bed-clothes with one arm and leg, so as to draw in a good deal of fresh air, and by letting them fall force it out again. This, repeated twenty times, will so clear them of the perspirable matter they have imbibed, as to permit your sleeping well for some time afterwards. But this latter method is not equal to the former.

Those who do not love trouble, and can afford to have two beds, will find great luxury in rising, when they wake in a hot bed, and going into the cool one. Such shifting of beds would also be of great service to persons ill of a fever, as it refreshes and frequently procures sleep. A very large bed, that will admit a removal so distant from the first situation as to be cool and sweet, may in a degree answer the same end.

One or two observations more will conclude this little piece. Care must be taken, when you lie down, to dispose your pillow so as to suit your manner of placing your head, and to be perfectly easy; then place your limbs so as not to bear inconveniently hard upon one another, as, for instance,

the joints of your ankles; for, though a bad position may at first give but little pain and be hardly noticed, yet a continuance will render it less tolerable, and the uneasiness may come on while you are asleep, and disturb your imagination. These are the rules of the art. But, though they will generally prove effectual in producing the end intended, there is a case in which the most punctual observance of them will be totally fruitless. I need not mention the case to you, my dear friend, but my account of the art would be imperfect without it. The case is, when the person who desires to have pleasant dreams has not taken care to preserve, what is necessary above all things,

A GOOD CONSCIENCE.

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

"As there is scarce any kind of Civil Knowledge more necessary or profitable than History; (which is therefore very aptly stiled by the Ancients, The Mistress of Life,) so of all sorts of History there is none so useful as that which unlocking the Cabinet, brings forth the Letters, private Instructions, Consultations and Negotiations of Ministers of State; for then we see things in a clear light, stript of all their paints and disguisings, and discover those hidden Springs of Affairs, which give motion to all the vast Machines and stupendous Revolutions of Princes and Kingdoms, that make such a noise on the Theatre of the World, and amaze us with unexpected shiftings of Scenes and daily Vicissitudes."— *The Memoires of Sir James Melvil*, 1683.

Benjamin Franklin
After the original painting by Charles Willson Peale
In the possession of Mrs. Joseph Harrison

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND EARLY STRUGGLES

At a certain exhibition of historical portraits Thomas Carlyle, it is said, was seen absorbed in the contemplation of a picture of Benjamin Franklin. A group of spectators, attracted by curiosity, gathered about him, to whom the sage of Chelsea said, as he pointed to the portrait: "There is the father of all the Yankees."

It would seem that Carlyle expressed the sentiment and opinion of mankind; for at the present time, two hundred years after the birth of Franklin, the world has united in spontaneous and splendid celebration of his vast achievements and matchless public service.

His history is the story of a struggle; it is the record of a life that began in humble surroundings and ended in splendour; it contains, therefore, the substance of the tales that have chiefly interested the world. The story is universally known, for his autobiography is the most famous work of the kind in the English language. Every one is familiar with the incidents of his flight from Boston — fugitive from the fist of a choleric brother — how he was nearly drowned in New York Bay, how he walked from Perth Amboy to Burlington, fifty miles through ever-during rain, how he took boat at Burlington upon an October afternoon, and landed at the foot of Market Street in Philadelphia upon the following Sunday morning, how he walked the quiet streets of the sober city,

— a ridiculous figure, munching a roll, — how he found shelter the first night in the strange city at the old Crooked Billet in Water Street. The strange mutations of life! This vagrant, adventurous lad, ragged, travel-stained, awkward, with shirts and stockings in his pockets and a Dutch dollar his whole stock of cash — this humble soap-boiler's son — was destined to become the most conspicuous and admired figure of two continents, to stand before kings, to converse with scholars, and to receive every honour that the most venerable academies of learning could bestow,—

> "And moving up from high to higher
> Become on Fortune's crowning slope
> The pillar of a people's hope,
> The centre of a world's desire."

His life covers so completely the occurrences of the eighteenth century, and comprehends so entirely its scientific and political progress that it seems impossible to confine the narrative within reasonable and readable limits. Fortunately it is unnecessary to encroach upon the province of the "Autobiography." There the story of his life is told, until the year 1757, with admirable truthfulness and thoroughness, in Franklin's inimitably easy and vivid way. Beyond that epoch many biographers have essayed to complete the narrative, but much yet remains to be done.

I purpose, in as few words as possible, to review the events of his early life, and to try to complete from his literary remains and the discoveries of recent research the history of one who lived long and variously in the world, and whose life is the most picturesque and profitable that has yet been lived in America.

Franklin was greatly interested in his family history. It was not his way to value a man for his antecedents, but he

knew the worth of genealogy, and he visited all the places where his ancestors had lived, and he traced his lineage with much time and care. He even adopted the family coat of arms — two lions' heads, two doves, and a dolphin — and with a decent sense of propriety in such a case he permitted his brother John to use it as a book plate, but he would not allow it to be put upon the cakes of crown soap by the making of which the family turned an honest penny.

When a person in Königsberg, Anna Sophia Susanna de Bohlen, née Franklin, wrote to him to claim relationship, saying that her father, who had taken service in the Prussian army, was the eldest son of John Franklin, born at Woodhouse near Abingdon, Franklin replied that he had exact accounts of every person of his family from 1555; and courteously added, "It would be a pleasure to me to discover a relation in Europe possessing the amiable sentiments expressed in your letter, I assure you I should not disown the meanest."[1] His notes upon the family history from 1555 to his own generation, together with his abstracts of church records and a pedigree chart of his own making have recently come into the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.[2]

He acquired his information in the summer of 1758 when, after attending the Commencement ceremonies at Cambridge, he visited Wellingborough where he found his cousin Mary Fisher — the wife of Richard Fisher,[3] a grazier and tanner, —

[1] To Madame de Bohlen, November 21, 1781.

[2] See "Franklin as a genealogist," by John W. Jordan, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April, 1899.

[3] The Lenox Library has a letter from Benjamin Franklin (uncle) to R. Fisher, Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, dated "Boston, 17 March, 1724," notifying him that about the 15th of November he had sent him a package of books by his nephew, Captain Dowse, "my brother's son-in-law."

the only child of Thomas Franklin, his father's eldest brother. She was then past four score years and could recall the departure of his father with his wife and children for America (1685).

The ancestral home of the Franklins was at Ecton in Northamptonshire, three miles from Wellingborough. For two hundred years of authentic record, and probably for many forgotten generations of which the church registers know nothing, the Franklins had lived upon their little patrimonial plot of thirty freehold acres and practised the art of agriculture and the craft of blacksmithing. They were plain, sturdy, liberty-loving people who shod horses, and mended and greased coach wheels. Stern livers were they all: fearing God and fearless of man. Mary Fisher wrote to Franklin that though the family "never made any great Figure in this County, yet it did what was much better, it acted that Part well in which Providence had placed it and for 200 Years all the Descendants of it have lived with Credit, and are to this Day without any Blot on their Escutcheon."[1] Carlyle sent to Edward Everett "a strange old brown manuscript," a tithes-book of the parish of Ecton, in which are many notices of pecuniary transactions in which the Franklins were concerned. "Here they are," says Carlyle, "their forge-hammers yet going — renting so many 'yard lands' of Northamptonshire church-soil — keeping so many sheep, etc., etc., — little conscious that one of the demigods was about to proceed out of them. I flatter myself these old plaster-cast representations of the very form and pressure of the primeval (or at least *prior*-eval) Franklins will be interesting in America; there is the very *stamp*, as it were, of the black knuckles, of

[1] Mary Fisher to Franklin, August 14, 1758.

their hob-nailed shoes, strongly preserved to us, in *hardened clay*, and now indestructible, if we take care of it." [1]

From the Register of Ecton Church Franklin found "that our poor honest Family were Inhabitants of that Village near 200 Years, as early as the Register begins." And from the same source, and from the gravestones from which he rubbed the obscuring moss, he learned, as he told his cousin, "that I am the youngest Son of the youngest Son of the youngest Son of the youngest Son for five Generations; whereby I find that had there originally been any Estate in the Family none could have stood a worse Chance of it." [2]

At Ecton he heard the chimes play that had been erected by his uncle, Thomas Franklin, in the steeple of the parish church. He was diverted with stories of his uncle's ingenuity. It was said that he had found out an easy method of saving their village meadows from being drowned, as they used to be by the river, "which method is still in being, but when first proposed nobody could conceive how it could be; 'but however,' they said, 'if Franklin says he knows how to do it, it will be done.'" This man who was looked upon "as something of a conjuror" died four years to a day before Franklin was born. "If Uncle Thomas had died," said William Franklin, "on the day of my father's birth one might have supposed a transmigration."

[1] The book was deposited by Edward Everett in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Ecton was twelve miles from Sulgrave, the home of the Washingtons. The pink-coated huntsmen of the Washington family may often have stopped in Ecton to have their horses shod by the leather-aproned Franklins at the forge.

[2] To Mary Fisher, July 31, 1758.

Franklin acknowledged the courtesy of the Rev. Eyre Whalley, rector of the parish, and his wife who was a granddaughter of the famous Archdeacon Palmer, in helping him to a knowledge of his family history.

Three of the brothers of this Thomas Franklin — John, Benjamin, and Josiah — removed from Ecton to Banbury and established themselves in the trade of dyers. Thomas Franklin, their father, in his old age followed his sons thither, and died there. Franklin found his gravestone in Banbury churchyard expressing that he was buried there, March 24, 1681/2.

Josiah Franklin emigrated from Banbury to Boston in 1685 with Ann, his wife, and three children, and finding little encouragement to pursue his trade as a dyer, he set up in business as a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler at the sign of the Blue Ball. Four more children were born to him in four years in New England. His wife died in childbed in 1689, and he married six months later his second wife Abiah Folger, youngest daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of Nantucket. Benjamin was the tenth and youngest son in a family of seventeen children. He was born Sunday, January 6 (old style), 1706. Although he celebrated his birthday in later years upon the 17th of January, he never ceased to feel, as he said, "some regard for this sixth of January, as my old nominal birthday." [1] The family home was then in Milk Street, a few steps from the door of Old South Church, and the child was carried over upon the day of its birth and baptized by Samuel Willard, pastor of the church and president of Harvard College.

Benjamin Franklin, the child's uncle, lonely and unfortunate, sent across the ocean occasional attempts at verse which were addressed to his little namesake and were read aloud in the family circle. The child replied in kind. Where-

[1] To Deborah Franklin, January 6, 1773.

upon Uncle Benjamin, delighted at this infantile lisping in numbers, wrote: —

"'Tis time for me to throw aside my pen,
When hanging sleeves read, write, and rhyme like men,
This forward spring foretells a plenteous crop;
For, if the bud bear grain, what will the top!
If plenty in the verdant blade appear,
What may we not soon hope for in the ear!
When flowers are beautiful before they're blown,
What rarities will afterward be shown.
If trees good fruit un'noculated bear,
You may be sure 'twill afterward be rare.
If fruits are sweet before they've time to yellow,
How luscious will they be when they are mellow!
If first years' shoots such noble clusters send,
What laden boughs, Engedi-like, may we expect in the end."[1]

A year at Boston Grammar School, and a year under a writing master, Mr. George Brownell,[2] and Franklin's school days were over forever. At ten years old he was taken to help his father in his business. He remembered the benefits of his brief connection with the free grammar schools of Boston, and in his will acknowledged that he owed his first instructions in literature to them, and bequeathed to their managers or directors one hundred pounds sterling, the interest of which annually was to be laid out in silver medals and given as honorary rewards. Probably the love of books was with him

[1] These lines were written in 1713. The elder Benjamin Franklin came over to New England and settled in Dr. Coleman's church in Boston. Dr. Coleman preached his funeral sermon from the text "Mark the perfect man." Josiah Franklin was a member of the Rev. Dr. Sewall's church. He died December 1, 1744, æt. 89. His wife died 1752, æt. 85. See "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," by F. B. Dexter, N.Y., 1901, Vol. II, p. 375, for reminiscences of Jane Mecom (née Franklin).

[2] "Advertisements. At the House of George Brownell in Second Street, (formerly the House of Mr. John Knight, deceas'd) is taught, Reading, Writing, Cyphering, Dancing, Plain-work, Marking, with Variety of Needle-work. Where also Scholars may board." From *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

before he went to his first school, for he says that his readiness in learning to read must have been very early "as I do not remember when I could not read." His sister speaks of him as a Bible reader at five years old. When still very young reading was a confirmed habit which soon became a passion. He devoured the dull and profitless contents of his father's little library of polemic divinity. Not even the "dusty death" of this collection could kill his love of books. Among the ministerial folios was a copy of Plutarch's Lives, which he read with delight, and Defoe's "Essay on Projects," and Mather's "Essays to do Good." A few years before his death he wrote to the son of Cotton Mather that the reading of the mutilated copy of his father's little book gave him such a turn of thinking as to have an influence upon his conduct throughout life, "for I have always set a greater value on the character of a *doer of good* than on any other kind of reputation; and if I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book." [1] He has described in his "Autobiography" the kind of books that fell in his way. He bought Bunyan's works and sold them to buy R. Burton's Historical Collections. He borrowed books from Mr. Matthew Adams, a tradesman, and became a vegetarian in order to save a little with which to buy books. He read attentively and intensely, with his faculties all awake. Books influenced him greatly. His vegetarianism was suggested by a book written by Dr. Thomas Tryon, commending that kind of diet. Xenophon's "Memorabilia" caused him to adopt the Socratic method of dispute. From Shaftesbury and Collins he caught the measles of scepticism. Before he was sixteen he had bought and studied Cocker's Arithmetic,

[1] To Samuel Mather, May 12, 1784.

Greenwood's Grammar, the Port Royal Logic, and Locke on the "Human Understanding."

With these to steady his mind, and Bunyan, Defoe, and Addison to excite his imagination and enrich his language, he had the materials for solid and efficient education.

At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to his brother James who, in the next year (1719), began to print the *Boston Gazette*, the second newspaper in America.

In seven months' time the paper changed ownership, and Philip Masgrave, the new proprietor, employed another printer. Partly in resentment and partly from a belief that there was room for more than one newspaper in America, James Franklin issued upon the 7th of August, 1721, the first number of *The New England Courant*, the fourth newspaper to be published in the colonies. The printer promised that it should be issued "once a Fortnight and out of meer kindness to my Brother-writers I intend now and then to be (like them) very very dull; for I have a strong Fancy, that unless I am sometimes flat and low, this paper will not be very grateful to them." The dulness and respectability of the *News-Letter* and the *Gazette* were impudently and mercilessly satirized. The publisher solicited his friends to favour him "with some short Piece, Serious, Sarcastick, Ludicrous, or otherways amusing; or sometimes professedly Dul (to accomodate some of his Acquaintance) that this Courant may be of the more universal Use." The older journals replied indignantly, stigmatizing the new venture as "frothy and fulsome," and inveighing against the "Ribaldry" of the "Dull cold Skul" of its "Undertaker." Young men of good family and good education, some of them students of medicine and all of them brilliant, reckless, and irreverent — the very Mohocks of litera-

ture — gathered about James Franklin and exhausted their ingenuity in the contrivance of fresh forms of mockery and satire. Cotton Mather had declared in favour of inoculation for small-pox. The young men who wrote for *Courante*, as the new paper was popularly called, heaped their ridicule upon him, and aspersed the clergy. Mather replied in the *News-Letter* comparing the *Courantists* to the Hell-fire Club of London; "notwithstanding God's hand is against us" he wrote, "in his visitation of the small-pox, and the threatening aspect of the wet weather, we find a notorious, scandalous paper, called the *Courant*, full freighted with nonsense, unmanliness, prophaneness, immorality, arrogance, calumnies, lies, contradictions and what not, all tending to quarrels and divisions, and to debauch and corrupt the minds and manners of New England." Increase Mather joined the fray and fulmined over Boston. He had seen the day when such "a cursed Libel" would have been suppressed by the Civil Authorities: "Which if it be not done I am afraid that some awful Judgment will come upon this Land and the wrath of God will arise and there will be no Remedy. I cannot but pity poor Franklin, who, tho' but a young Man it may be speedily he must appear before the Judgment Seat of God, and what answer will he give for printing things so vile and abominable?"

The ruling powers of Massachusetts looked upon the trespasses of this malicious and noisy newspaper with singularly tolerant and idle sight. Their patience was not exhausted until nearly a year after it had begun its mad career. In May, 1722, a pirate vessel was seen off Block Island. It was resolved in the House of Representatives to despatch an armed vessel in pursuit of her, and it was ordered that a bounty

should be paid for every pirate killed, and that the rover's ship and cargo should be the property of the captors. The *Courant* for June 11, 1722, sarcastically announced in a fictitious letter from Newport, "We are advised from Boston, that the government of the Massachusetts are fitting out a ship, (the *Flying Horse*) to go after the pirates, to be commanded by Captain Peter Papillon, and 'tis thought he will sail some time this month, wind and weather permitting."

The pranks of James Franklin had now become too broad to bear with. He was summoned before the Council, the offensive paragraph pronounced "a high affront to the government," and he was sentenced to Boston jail where he remained a month. After his release the *Courant* was conducted more boldly and outrageously than before. The Council, irritated beyond endurance, decided that the tendency of the paper was to mock religion, and to disturb the peace and good order of the Province. James Franklin was therefore strictly forbidden "to print or publish *The New England Courant*, or any other pamphlet or paper of the like nature, except it be first supervised by the Secretary of this Province." Benjamin Franklin had tried his 'prentice hand in managing the paper during his brother's previous imprisonment. He had shown ability and resource. It was now decided that he should appear as the sole publisher. His indentures were cancelled and returned to him. New indentures were signed and concealed. An advertisement was inserted in the *Courant* of February 11, 1723, certifying that "the late Publisher of this Paper, finding so many Inconveniences would arise by his carrying the Manuscripts and Publick News to be supervis'd by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable, has intirely dropt the Undertaking." In the same issue and

directly beneath this falsehood Benjamin Franklin printed his preface to the first number of the paper printed and sold in his name.[1]

Under the new management the paper prospered greatly. It did not mend its manners. It still indulged in profane jests, and cynical scoffings at religion. But it grew in public favour, and a penny was added to its price, and the subscription raised from ten shillings a year to twelve shillings.

In the meanwhile the brothers were constantly bickering. James was quick-tempered, envious, and domineering; Benjamin was self-willed, opinionated, and defiant of restraint and correction. Stormy scenes between them ended with punishment administered by the elder and more passionate. Benjamin would endure it no longer. He knew that his brother would be afraid to refer to the secret indentures. The cancelled ones were in his own possession. He declared himself free. James persuaded the Boston printers not to give employment to his apprentice who had treated him unfaithfully and dishonestly. Benjamin sold a few of his books, stole secretly on board a sloop in Boston harbour, and fled to New York. In that city, then inhabited by seven or eight thousand persons, there was as yet neither book-shop nor newspaper. There was but one printing-office, that of William Bradford, the pioneer printer, who had set the first type in the middle colonies. He recommended Franklin to proceed to Philadelphia where his son Andrew Bradford

[1] "*The New England Courant.* N° 80. From Monday February 4. to Monday February 11. 1723.

Boston: Printed and sold by Benjamin Franklin in Queen Street, where Advertisements are taken in."

This preface is reprinted in this edition, Vol. II, p. 49.

might give him employment, having lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death.

Philadelphia was then the chief city of the continent. It had been compared a few years before by Prideaux to ancient Babylon, and the prophecy had been ventured that if the whole city were "built according to the plan of William Penn it would be the fairest and best city in all America and not much behind any other in the whole world." [1] "M. Pen," said Montesquieu, "est un véritable Lycurgue." Into this city Franklin came upon a Sunday morning in October, 1723, and the following morning called upon Andrew Bradford and was sent on by him to another printer who had but recently set up his press in the city. Franklin found Samuel Keimer, the new printer, a half-crazed Anabaptist, in the act of setting in type an elegy upon Aquila Rose, the deceased journeyman. These were the verses which Franklin promised to print off for him as soon as he should have got the elegy ready: —

> "What mournful accents thus accost mine ear,
> What doleful echoes hourly thus appear!
> What sighs from melting hearts proclaim aloud
> The solemn mourning of this numerous crowd.
> In sable characters the news is read
> Our Rose is withered and our Eagle's fled
> In that our dear Aquila Rose is dead."

For a few months Franklin continued to work for Keimer and to lodge with the family of Mr. Read, whose daughter Deborah had laughed at his ridiculous appearance the morning he arrived in Philadelphia. He made several acquaintances, and among others he came to know William Keith, the governor of the Province. Keith was vain, pompous,

[1] Prideaux's "Connection," Vol. I, p. 213 (1716).

harassed by debts, and had a weak sense of honour. He was lavish in promises which he had neither the ability or the intention to observe. He pleased himself in patronizing Franklin and persuaded him to go to England to choose the types and other furnishings of a printing-house, promising to set him up in business upon his return.

He reached London (December 24, 1724) to find that he had been grossly deceived, and that no letters of recommendation or of credit had been sent to him by the governor. He was alone, friendless, and almost penniless. He sought employment among the printers, and found it in Bartholomew Close. Here in Palmer's printing-house he set the type for Wollaston's "Religion of Nature Delineated,"[1] and his scepticism was so much offended by its piety that he attempted to refute it in a pamphlet entitled "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." The author of "The Infallibility of Human Judgment" was pleased with the pamphlet and interested in the author, and introduced him to a cheerful Society of free thinkers who gathered at the Horns, a pale ale house in an alley off Cheapside, where he made the acquaintance of Mandeville and Henry Pemberton. His days sped industriously enough in the printing-house, first of Palmer in Bartholomew Close, then of Watts near Lincoln's Inn Fields. His nights were spent in cynical criticism of religion or in the company of dissolute women. Occasionally he disported upon the Thames, astonishing his associates with his extraordinary skill in swimming. Sir William Wyndham heard of his feat of swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriars and sent for him to teach his two sons. Upon

[1] He worked upon the second *published* edition, not the second *printed*. It was the edition of 1725, not of 1724.

what small events the destinies of life may turn! But that he had already accepted a clerkship under his friend Denham, he might have become and remained instructor in a swimming school.

He sailed with Denham from Gravesend July 23, 1726, and landed at Philadelphia on the 11th of October. The two travellers went in business together in Water Street, Denham as proprietor, Franklin as clerk. In February, 1727, just after Franklin had passed his twenty-first year, he was attacked by pleurisy which nearly carried him out of life. Mr. Denham, too, fell ill, and after a long time succumbed to his malady.

With Denham's death Franklin's mercantile experience ceased. He accepted an offer of liberal wages from Keimer and resumed his occupation as a printer. He separated from Keimer to found his own printing-house, and in the spring of 1728, in partnership with Hugh Meredith, he began business at "the new printing office in High Street, near the Market."[1] He was now at the beginning of a career in which by industry and frugality he was to win independence and a competent fortune, and to make possible his achievements in science and his dedication of himself to the public service.

At this time the only newspaper published in Pennsylvania was the *American Weekly Mercury*. Franklin determined to start another. Unfortunately he told his plan to one who disclosed it to Keimer, who immediately published proposals for one of his own making. He called his paper *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette*, and issued the first number December 28, 1728.

[1] Benjamin Franklin and Hugh Meredith dissolved partnership, July 14, 1730 (not in 1729, as it is stated in the "Autobiography").

The *Instruction* was furnished by the republication in this diminutive sheet of Chambers's "Universal Dictionary of all the Arts and Sciences," beginning with the first letter of the alphabet. Vexed that his plan had been frustrated, Franklin determined to wreck his rival's enterprise. He contributed to the *Mercury* a series of able essays subscribed the "Busybody." His end was speedily accomplished. The cleverness and entertainment of his essays diverted newspaper readers from the drowsy numbers of the *Universal Instructor*, to the sprightlier columns of the *Mercury*. Keimer's credit in business declined, and he was forced to sell his printing-house and to go to Barbadoes. His newspaper passed into Franklin's hands, the publication of the *Busybody* was resigned to Joseph Brientnal, and with Number 40, October 2, 1729, shorn of the ponderous and meaningless part of its title, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* began a new existence. Never had so much fun, folly, wisdom, and originality been offered to the public. The character of the newspaper has already been sufficiently described. It grew rapidly in public favour. The publisher worked hard and in all seasons. He made and sold lampblack and Aleppo ink. He brought home in a wheelbarrow his purchases of stationery, wore the leathern apron and the printer's cap, and breakfasted upon bread and milk which he ate out of an earthen porringer with a pewter spoon. He vended goose quills and live goose feathers, and offered "likely negro wenches" for sale. At his shop could be purchased Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, gilt paper, mourning paper, memorandum books, pounce, spectacles, linseed oil, and "very good chocolate."

The next year he corrected, as he says, a great *erratum* of his life. Before going to England he had exchanged prom-

ises of marriage with Miss Read. During his absence he had neglected to write to her, and she had yielded to the solicitations of her family and had become the wife of a worthless man who had deserted her. Franklin "took her to wife," September 1, 1730.[1] No record of the marriage ceremony has been found, if, indeed, a formal marriage could have been possible when positive evidence of her husband's death was lacking. It appears to have been a happy marriage. She was illiterate, but a thrifty housewife. She bore him two children, Francis Folger who died in childhood, of small-pox, and a daughter, Sarah, from whom descend all who inherit the blood of Franklin.

She accepted his illegitimate son of unknown parentage who became governor of New Jersey, and although, according to some witnesses, she gave way to occasional gusts of temper,[2] she reared him with her own children and with like

[1] Mrs. Read came to live with her daughter and son-in-law, and the advertisement of her trade appears as follows in successive numbers of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*: "The Widow Read, removed from the upper End of High Street to the *New Printing Office* near the Market, continues to make and sell her well-known Ointment for the ITCH, with which she has cured abundance of People in and about this City for many Years past. It is always effectual for that purpose, and never fails to perform the Cure speedily. It also kills or drives away all Sorts of Lice in once or twice using. It has no offensive Smell, but rather a pleasant one; and may be used without the least Apprehension of Danger, even to a sucking Infant, being perfectly innocent and safe. Price 2 s. a Gallypot containing an Ounce; which is sufficient to remove the most inveterate Itch, and render the Skin clear and smooth.

"She also continues to make and sell her excellent *Family Salve* or Ointment, for Burns or Scalds, (Price 1 s. an Ounce) and several other Sorts of Ointments and Salves as usual.

"At the same Place may be had *Lockyer's Pills*, at 3 d. a Pill."

[2] "'Mr. Fisher there goes the greatest Villain upon Earth.' This greatly confounded and perplex'd me, but did not hinder her from pursuing her Invectives in the foulest terms I ever heard from a Gentlewoman." See "Diary of Daniel Fisher" (*Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.* 1893, Vol. XVII, p. 156).

care. She bore patiently her husband's long absences from America — he was in England on public business for thirteen of the last seventeen years of her life, and her invincible aversion to crossing the sea stayed her at home. He complained occasionally of her expenses, but only after the first slight stroke of paralysis had affected her mind and memory. Others, however, who had dealings with her before that time complained to him of her temper and her unwillingness to pay her debts. A certain Sarah Broughton wrote to him (July 1, 1766) that Mrs. Franklin owed her £31. 14. 9, an account that had been running for seven years, and also for a bed which she had for two years and now wanted to return because the price of feathers was fallen from three shillings fourpence to two shillings a pound. She said that she had written to Mrs. Franklin who replied "that she did not know me, and that I might write to you she was an hegehog. Now sir I don't think her a hegehog but in reallity she has shot a great many Quills at me, but thank Heaven none of them has or can hurt me as I doubt not that your known Justice will induce you to order the above sum of seven pounds, seven shillings payed." Franklin seems in his domestic life to have acted upon Poor Richard's advice, "Keep your eyes wide open before marriage, half shut afterwards," and he seems to have been quite undisturbed by any of his wife's faults. "You can bear with your own Faults and why not a Fault in your Wife?" he would sometimes ask.

At this time, too (1731), he set on foot his first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. It has become the fashion to deny to Franklin the honour of the foundation of the Library Company of Philadelphia, "the mother of all the North American subscription libraries." His constant

interest in its growth and welfare is everywhere apparent in his correspondence, both in his soliciting aid for it from his learned friends abroad, and his own active quest after books to be added to it when he was in England. Certainly no doubt existed in his lifetime as to the character and extent of the obligation. When the foundation of a new building for the library was contemplated, Franklin was requested to prepare a suitable inscription. Mr. Richard Wells was appointed by the directors to confer with him, and the following correspondence took place between them.

"Rd. Wells presents his best Respects to Dr. Franklin and takes the Liberty of suggesting something of the Substance of what he believes would give general Satisfaction. As it is well known to the present Inhabitants of the City how much they are indebted to Dr. Franklin for the *first Idea* as well as *Execution* of the Plan for a public Library; Rd. Wells is very certain it would be the general Wish to perpetuate a grateful Remembrance of it." (Philadelphia, August 29, 1789.)

"Dr. Franklin presents his Respects to Mr. Wells; he did not intend any Mention of himself in the propos'd Inscription, and even wrote it at first without the Words '*chearfully at the Instance of one of their Number*,' but in compliance with Mr. Wells's Idea, has added them tho' he still thinks it would be better without them. He cannot, however, but be pleased with every Mark of the Kind Regard of his Fellow-citizens towards him. It is his own being concern'd in promoting such Testimonies that he thinks improper; and as that drawn by Mr. Wells may be understood as proceeding from him, he wishes it may be [illegible]."

Saturday P.M. August 29. 1789.

Be it remembred
In Honour of the Philadelphian Youth
[then chiefly Artificers]
That in MDCCXXXII
They *chearfully, at the Instance of one of their Number,*
Instituted the Philadelphia Library
Which tho' small at first
Is become highly Valuable
and extensively useful
And which the Walls of this Edifice
Are now destined to Contain and Preserve
The First Stone of whose Foundation
was here placed
the 31st Day of August
MDCCLXXXIX.[1]

All these activities find candid and sufficient expression in the first draft of the "Autobiography" written at Twyford. It is a life of eager industry that is revealed, characterized by thrift and frugality and by the practical public spirit of the good citizen.

At twenty-one he had organized the Junto, a club which was originally called "The Leather Apron"; at twenty-two he was in full business career; at twenty-three he was the author of an important tract upon "Paper Currency," and editor of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* which at once became an influential factor in public opinion. At twenty-five he had started the Philadelphia Library, and the next year was launching the famous series of "Poor Richard" almanacs. His ideal was a life of thrift, caution, husbandry, comfort, and rational enjoyment. He knew no sad torment of the thoughts that lie beyond the reaches of our souls; he was undisturbed by the

[1] From the Stevens Collection, Library of Congress, No. 2056. Mr. John Boyd Thacher, of Albany, possesses a list of books in Franklin's handwriting, with the caption "Catalogue of the Philadelphia Library."

burden of the mystery of the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world. While the New Englanders were contemplating with awe the dread mysteries of Eternity, he was minding his shop and his small concerns of earth. A frank acceptance of the material world and a desire to do some practical good in it — these things were the life of Franklin. And so he founded benevolent and useful institutions — hospitals, libraries, schools, and learned societies, invented stoves and lightning-rods and labour-saving devices, lighted and paved streets, and protected towns from fire. Such utilitarian subjects occupied him. He did not squander his thought in desperate ventures of new-found and foggy metaphysics.

Of course his successes were won not without opposition, and they were not unaccompanied by jealousy and malignity. A tragical occurrence which took place in Philadelphia in 1737 and in which the whole city was interested brought Franklin into such unpleasant notoriety that he felt it necessary to justify himself in his newspaper and to solicit the affidavits of his friends in his behalf.

Dr. Evan Jones, a chemist, was found guilty of manslaughter, having occasioned the death of his apprentice. The youth had expressed a desire to be initiated into the mysteries of freemasonry; his master and a few friends in a spirit of evil pleasantry diverted themselves with obscene and blasphemous jests at the youth's expense. The *Mercury* declared that Franklin had greatly relished the whole affair, and had been a participant in the diabolical scene that ended in a tragedy.

Public sentiment had been so outraged by the affair that Franklin immediately replied to the charge in the following letter: —

"Some very false and scandalous Aspersions being thrown on me in the *Mercury* of Yesterday, with regard to Dr. Jones's Affair, I find myself obliged to set that Matter in a true light.

"Sometime in June last, Mr. Danby, Mr. Alrihs, and myself were appointed by the Court of Common-Pleas, as Auditors to settle an Affair, between Dr. Jones and Armstrong Smith, then depending in said Court. We met accordingly at a Tavern in Market Street on the Saturday Morning before the Tragedy was acted in the Doctors Cellar. Dr. Jones appeared, and R——n as his Attorney, but Smith could not readily be found. While we waited for Smith, in order to hear both Parties together; the Doctor and R——n began to entertain us with an Account of some Diversion they had lately had with the Dr's Apprentice, who being desirous of being made a Free-Mason, they had persuaded him they could make him one, and accordingly had taught him several ridiculous Signs, Words and Ceremonies, of which he was very fond. Tis true I laugh'd (and perhaps heartily, as my Manner is) at the Beginning of their Relation; but when they came to those circumstances of their giving him a violent Purge, leading him to kiss J's Posteriors, and adminstring to him the diabolical Oath which R——n read to us, I grew indeed serious, as I suppose the most merry Man (not inclin'd to Mischief) would on such an Occasion. Nor did any one of the Company except the Doctor and R——n themselves, seem in the least pleas'd with the Affair, but the contrary— Mr. Danby in particular said, That if they had done such Things in England they would be prosecuted. Mr. Alrihs, That he did not believe they could stand by it. And my self, That when the Young Man came to know how he had been impos'd on, he would never forgive them. But the Doctor

and R——n went on to tell us, that they design'd to have yet some further Diversion, on pretence of raising him to a higher Degree in Masonry. Re——n said it was intended to introduce him blindfolded and stripp'd into a Room where the Company being each provided with a Rod or Switch should chastize him smartly; which the Doctor oppos'd, and said he had a better Invention; they would have a Game of Snap-Dragon in a dark Cellar, where some Figures should be dress'd up, that by the pale Light of Burning Brandy would appear horrible and frighten him d——bly. Soon after the Discourse the young Man himself coming in to speak with his Master, the Doctor pointed at me, and said to him, Daniel, that Gentleman is a Free-Mason; make a sign to him. Which whether he did or not, I cannot tell; for I was so far from encouraging him in the Delusion, or taking him by the Hand, or calling him Brother, and welcoming him into the Fraternity, as is said, that I turned my Head to avoid seeing him make his pretended Sign, and look'd out of the Window into the Garden: And all those Circumstances, with that of my desiring to have Notice that I might be present at the Snap-Dragon, are absolutely false and groundless. I was acquainted with him, and had a Respect for the young Lad's Father, and thought it a Pity his Son should be so impos'd upon, and therefore follow'd the Lad down Stairs to the Door when he went out, with a Design to call him back and give a Hint of the Imposition; but he was gone out of sight and I never saw him afterwards; for the Monday Night following, the Affair in the Cellar was transacted which prov'd his Death. As to the Paper or Oath, I did desire R——n when he had read it to let me see it; and finding it a Piece of a very extraordinary Nature, I told him I was desirous to shew it to some of my

Acquaintance, and so put it in my Pocket. I communicated it to one who mention'd it to others, and so many people flock'd to my House for a Sight of it, that it grew troublesome, and therefore when the Mayor sent for it, I was glad of the Opportunity to be discharg'd from it. Nor do I yet conceive that it was my Duty to conceal or destroy it. And being subpena'd on the Tryal as a Witness for the King, I appear'd and gave my Evidence fully, freely and impartially, as I think it becomes an honest Man to do. And I may call every one to whom I read that Paper, to witness, that I always accompanied it with Expressions of Detestation. This being the true State of the Case, I think I may reasonably hope, that I am so well known in this City, where I have liv'd near 14 Years, as that the false and malicious Insinuation contain'd in the Mercury, will not do the Injury to my Reputation that seemed intended.

"B. FRANKLIN."

"* * * P.S. I suppose A. B. will answer for himself."

"We whose Names are here unto subscribed, do certify, That we were present at the Time and Place above-mentioned, when Dr. Jones and J——n R——n related their Proceedings with Daniel R——s; and we do very well remember, that they were not countenanc'd or encourag'd by any Person Present, but the contrary. And that Benjamin Franklin in particular did speak against it, and did neither approve of what had been already done (as related by the Doctor and R——n) nor desire to be present at what was propos'd to be farther done with the said Daniel R——s, as is falsly insinuated in Mr. Bradford's last Mercury. And this we declare sincerely and freely, without any other Motive than the Desire

of doing Justice to the Reputation of the said Benjamin Franklin. Witness our Hands, this 15th Day of February, 1737, 8

"JOHN DANBY
"HARMANUS ALRIHS.

"The above-named John Danby being sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, and Harmanus Alrihs being duly affirmed, on their respective Qualifications did declare, that the Contents of the above Certificate were true.

"Sworn and affirm'd
Before me, this 15th
of February 1737, 8[1]

"WILLIAM ALLEN."

The rivalry between Bradford and Franklin was keen and warm. Bradford used his office as postmaster to shut the *Gazette* out of the mails, but he did not enjoy his advantage long for his tardiness in rendering his accounts caused Colonel Spotswood, then postmaster-general, to take from him his commission and to confer it upon Franklin (1737). The *Mercury* sympathetically fell with the fallen fortunes of its master.

In 1740 Franklin undertook to publish a monthly literary magazine, an enterprise of which it is curious that no mention is made in the "Autobiography." It was the first time that such a proposition had been considered in America.

John Webbe who had written heavy, prosy articles for the *Gazette* was engaged as editor, and the terms of publication were agreed upon. When Webbe had learned Franklin's plan, he betrayed the details of it to Andrew Bradford. Directly

[1] From *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 15, 1737, 1738.

an announcement appeared in the *Mercury* that upon the 30th of October, 1740, a magazine would appear edited by Webbe and published by Bradford. One week later Franklin announced *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for All the British Plantations in America.* He explained that he had not intended to publish so soon, but that a person to whom he had told his scheme had betrayed it in the last *Mercury*. "This Magazine, in imitation of those in England, was long since projected; a Correspondence is settled with Intelligent Men in most of the Colonies, and small Types are procured, for carrying it on in the best Manner. It would not, indeed, have been published quite so soon, were it not that a Person, to whom the Scheme was communicated in Confidence, has thought fit to advertise it in the last Mercury, without our Participation; and, probably, with a View, by Starting before us, to discourage us from prosecuting our first Design, and reap the Advantage of it wholly to himself. We shall endeavour, however, by executing our Plan with Care, Diligence and Impartiality, and by printing the Work neatly and correctly, to deserve a Share of the Publick Favour: — But we desire no Subscriptions. We shall publish the Books at our own Expence, and risque the Sale of them; which Method, we suppose, will be most agreeable to our Readers, as they will then be at Liberty to buy only what they like; and we shall be under a constant Necessity of endeavouring to make every particular Pamphlet worth their Money. Each Magazine shall contain four Sheets, of common sized Paper, in a small Character: Price Six Pence Sterling, or Nine Pence Pennsylvania Money; with considerable Allowance to Chapmen who take Quantities. To be printed and sold by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia."

Webbe published a verbose and violent reply called "The Detection," which began in the *Mercury* of November 13. He charged Franklin with shutting the *Mercury* out of the post. Franklin replied with the following letter in the *Gazette*, December 11, 1740.[1]

"The Publick has been entertain'd for these three Weeks past, with angry Papers, written expressly against me, and publish'd in the *Mercury*. The two first I utterly neglected, as believing that both the Facts therein stated, and the extraordinary Reasonings upon them, might be safely enough left to themselves, without any Animadversion; and I have the Satisfaction to find, that the Event has answered my Expectation: But the *last*, my Friends think 'tis necessary I should take some Notice of it, as it contains an Accusation that has at least a Shew of Probability, being printed by a Person to whom it particularly relates, who could not but know whether it was true or false; and who, having still some Reputation to guard, it may be presum'd, could by no Means be prevail'd on to publish a Thing as Truth, which was contrary to his own Knowledge.

"'Mr. Franklin (says the Writer in the *Mercury*) has, since my first Letter, in Quality of Post-Master, taken upon him to deprive the *Mercury* of the Benefit of the Post, and will not permit it to travel with his *Gazette* which charges me with the most infamous Practices. His Resentment against his Brother Printer is altogether unreasonable; for a Printer should always be acquitted from being a Party to any Writing, when he discovers the Author, or when the Author sub-

[1] For a full account of these rival magazines, see "The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors, 1741–1850," by Albert H. Smyth, Philadelphia, 1892.

scribes his Name; except the other Knows he publishes a Falshood at the Time; which cannot be supposed to be the Case in respect to what Mr. Bradford printed for me.'

"It unluckily happens, that this not only may be supposed to be the Case but really is the Case, in respect to this very Paragraph.

"But the Truth is, that 'tis now upwards of a Twelvemonth since I refus'd to forward Mr. Bradford's Papers free by the Post, in Obedience to a positive Order from the Hon. Col. Spotswood, then Post-Master General.

"To prevent any Suspicion of the Reality of such an Order, or that I obtain'd it by some Misrepresentation of Mr. Bradford, or that it was given hastily, thro' Caprice, or without just Reason, I am sorry I am oblig'd to mention, That his Detaining the Ballance of his Accounts, and his neglecting to render any Account for a long time, while he held the Post-Office himself, as they were the Occasion of his Removal, so they drew upon him, after long Patience and Forbearance, the Resentment of the Post-Master General, express'd in the following Letter.

"'Germanna, Octob. 12. 1739.

"'Sir,

"'The Part which your Predecessor, Mr. Andrew Bradford, has acted with respect to the Post-Office Accompts, is no longer to be borne with. The Deputy Post-Masters in Great Britain account every two Months with the General Post-Office there; and I am obliged every half Year to have the Accounts of the General Post-Office in America made up. But I have not been able to obtain any Account from Mr. Bradford of the Philadelphia Office, from Midsummer 1734

notwithstanding all the pressing Demands that the Comptroller has been continually making upon him for so many Years past. Wherefore I now peremptorily direct, that, upon receipt hereof, you commence suit against him, without hearkning any more to his trifling Excuses and fallacious Promises. If he lays any Stress on the Reputation of a Man of Truth, and Sincerity, he must blush upon a Trial, before his Towns-Men, to have his Letters produced, continually pleading Sickness, for his not sending his Accompts: Whereas, upon Enquiry, I am well assured, that, for these two Years past, he has appeared abroad in as good State of Health, as ever he used to be. Such an Imposition I think ought not to be passed over, without some Mark of my Resentment; and therefore I now direct, that you no longer suffer to be carried by the Post any of his News-Papers, or Letters directed to him, without his[1] paying the Postage thereof: Which you are to observe, until further Orders in that Behalf, from, Sir,

"'Your most humble Servant,

"'To Mr. Franklin. A Spotswood."

"Upon the receipt of this Letter it was, that I absolutely refus'd to forward any more of Mr. Bradford's Papers free by Post; and from that time to this, he has never offered me any to forward. This he cannot but Know to be true.

"I must however do Mr. Bradford the Justice, to vindicate him from an injurious Suspicion which I apprehend may arise on this Occasion, to wit, That he has impos'd that Story on his unhappy Writer, and misled him by a wrong Account of the Facts he might be ignorant of. — For this, in my

[1] "The Privilege of Free-Postage was allow'd Mr. Bradford, on Condition of his acquitting himself fairly of the Office, and doing Justice to the Revenue."

Opinion cannot possibly be: Inasmuch as that Person is thoroughly acquainted with the Affair, was employ'd as Attorney in the Action against Bradford, and had, at the very Time he was writing the Paragraph in Question, the Original Letter from Col. Spotswood, in his own Possession.

"B. FRANKLIN."

Amid all controversy and against all opposition Franklin made his way and prospered greatly. His newspaper circulated in all the colonies. His almanac was read by many thousands more than had ever read an American book. The official printing of Pennsylvania and the adjacent provinces of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland came to his shop. He was employed in printing the Pennsylvanian paper money of which he said it was "a very profitable jobb and a great help to me." Isaac Decow, the surveyor-general, a shrewd, sagacious man, foresaw that Franklin would soon work Keimer "out of business and make a fortune in it in Philadelphia." And this prophecy Franklin quotes with approval. With the disappearance of Keimer no business competitor remained but the old one, Bradford. When Franklin became postmaster, he remarks shrewdly in his "Autobiography," "My old competitor's newspaper declin'd proportionably, and I was satisfy'd without retaliating the refusal, while postmaster, to permit my papers being carried by the riders."

He extended his business far into the remoter and remotest provinces. It might be said that he established the first of those commercial "trusts" which have in later years grown to such towering and menacing proportions. It was his practice to set up a young journeyman in business, supplying him with presses, types, books, and all the necessary equip-

ment of a printing-house, pay one-third of the expenses and exact one-third of the profits. In this manner he started Thomas Whitemarsch[1] and Peter Timothy[2] in South Carolina, Smith and Benjamin Mecom in Antigua, James Parker[3] in New York, Hall and Miller at Lancaster, Dunlap and Hall in Philadelphia, his brother in Rhode Island, Samuel Holland, at Lancaster, Pa.,[4] William Daniell in Kingston, Jamaica, and yet others in New Haven and Georgia.

While his fortunes grew, his habits of life changed but little. He looked disapprovingly upon innovations of luxury,[5] denied himself and his family comforts to which they were well entitled, and went clothed from head to foot in garments of his wife's making.

In 1748 he withdrew from partnership with David Hall, and fancied that he was about to enjoy leisurely the fruits of his industry. It was the year of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and every prospect for the country and for the world looked fair. "The approaching Peace," Franklin wrote to Peter Collinson [October 18, 1748], "gives us a Prospect of being more at Ease in our Minds."

[1] Thomas Whitemarsh founded the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1732. Franklin notes in his journal, Whitemarsh "arrived in Charlestown 29th of Sept. 1731 at night, so our Partnership there begins October 1, 1731."

[2] Peter Timothy was the son of Lewis Timothy, or Timothée, a French refugee. He published the *South Carolina Gazette*. He was lost at sea. The paper was carried on by his son, Benjamin Franklin Timothy (1792–1800).

[3] Articles of Agreement signed February 20, 1741.

[4] Samuel Holland and Benjamin Franklin signed an agreement, June 14, 1753. Franklin was to let Holland have a printing-press and types; Holland was to keep them in good order and to pay £20 a year in four instalments.

[5] "The eyes of other people are the eyes that ruin us." — Franklin to Vaughan, July 26, 1784.

CHAPTER II

POSTMASTER AND ASSEMBLYMAN

It seemed possible for Franklin now to devote himself to scientific pursuits and for his son to exchange for the peaceful occupation of trade the boisterous career of a soldier. He wrote to Mr. Strahan that it would not be necessary for him to send the copy of Polybius which had been ordered of him: "It was intended for my Son who was then in the Army and seemed bent on a military Life, but as Peace cuts off his Prospect of Advancement in that Way he will apply himself to other Business." But he was not to enjoy the leisure he had hoped and worked for. The public laid hold of him for their purposes. In his own words, "The governor put me into the commission of the peace; the corporation of the city chose me of the common council and soon after an alderman; and the citizens at large chose me a burgess to represent them in Assembly."

In May, 1751, he learned that Elliot Benger, deputy postmaster-general of America, residing in Virginia, was thought to be dying. Immediately he set his friends to work to secure for him the reversion of the office. Mr. Allen, the Chief Justice, wrote letters to England recommending him and empowering one of his correspondents to offer £300 in perquisites and contingent fees and charges for the office. Franklin wrote promptly to Peter Collinson saying, "If you can without much inconvenience to yourself advise and assist in endeavouring to secure the Success of this Application you will whatever may be the Event add greatly to the Obligations you have already conferr'd on me, and if it succeeds I hope that

as my Power of doing Good increases my Inclination will always at least keep pace with it. I am quite a Stranger to the Manner of Managing these Applications so can offer no particular Instructions."

Elliot Benger died in the summer of 1753, and on the 10th of August following, the Postmasters-General appointed "Mr. Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, and Mr. William Hunter of Williamsburg in Virginia, their Deputy Postmaster and Manager of all his Majesty's Provinces and Dominions on the Continent of North America in the stead of Elliot Benger Esq. deceased, to commence this day at an allowance or salary of £600 per annum."

It was the first occasion in the history of the office that two postmasters were appointed. The salary was raised from £200 to £600, but it was to be paid out of "the money arising from the postage of letters passing and re-passing through the said Provinces and Dominions of North America." Franklin's first official act was to appoint his son controller of the post-office. The postmastership of Philadelphia he gave first to his son, then to Joseph Read, one of his wife's relatives, then to his own brother. Indeed, there were few of the Franklins, Reads, and Folgers who did not profit by their thrifty and energetic kinsman's zeal for the public service. He looked after them all: brothers, and cousins, and nephews, and brothers-in-law drew salutary incomes from public offices. It may be true that Franklin, as he says, never debated the question of salary, but it is quite evident that he had a wary eye for the incidental income arising from office, and was industrious in filling the choicer seats with members of his own family. With his private correspondence before us in which with rather indecent haste he

urges upon his friends in England and America to use all their influence to secure the deputy postmastership for him while the incumbent of that office lay dying in Virginia, it is impossible for us to accept his often-repeated assertion that he had never in his life asked for any public office. In fact, the student of Franklin must, with however much reluctance, come to the conclusion that was expressed by some wicked wag who said that Franklin so loved truth that he was rather sparing in the use of it.

The appointment to the postmastership marks the period when Franklin began his continental experience. Until this time he had been the thrifty business man and public-spirited citizen of Philadelphia. Now he was to become the American unrestricted by the petty prejudices and boundaries of small provinces. He was the first to transcend colonial limitations. He went abroad over the country and took the wind of all its moods. In his first tour of inspection he visited every post-office except Charleston, infusing new vigour into the entire system. He increased the mail service between New York and Philadelphia from once a week in summer and twice a month in winter to three times a week in summer and once a week in winter. He made the conveying of newspapers a source of revenue, by compelling his post-riders to take all newspapers offered them instead of those only that were issued by the postmasters, a privilege which he said he regarded as unjust and injurious. For four years he laboured at the improvement of the service and without reward. At the end of that time Franklin and Hunter found a deficit of £943. 16. 1.

From August 10, 1753, to August 10, 1756, the receipts amounted to £938. 16. 10, while the disbursements were given at £1617. 4. 0, showing a deficit of £678. 7. 2.

From August 10, 1756, to August 10, 1757, the receipts were £1151. 10. 11, and the disbursements were £1416. 19. 10, showing a further deficit of £265. 8. 11.

Soon after this the improvements and the watchful intelligence of Franklin began to tell, and for the next three years, ending in August, 1760, the surplus was £1221. 7. 6. The receipts and disbursements being £3368. 18. 6 and £2147. 11. 0, respectively. In the following year (1761) there was a balance of £216. 13. 3, the receipts at £981. 10. 3 again exceeding the expenses at £764. 17. 0.

Thus after eight years' work Franklin had the satisfaction of settling his accounts with the Postmasters-General by remitting £494. 4. 8. The official record of this act preserved in the General Post Office of London reads, "The Deputy Postmasters have already obeyed the Post Master General by remitting £494. 4. 8, in full payment of their Balance up to the 10th of August 1761, *and this is the first remittance ever made of the kind.*"

Franklin and Hunter had not long had control when war broke out. There was then no regular packet service. The Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Robinson, issued an order on the Postmasters-General to establish as early as possible a service of packet-boats to sail direct between Falmouth (England) and New York, and to employ sufficient vessels to maintain a regular service. The order was issued late in September, 1755, and the Postmasters-General (Lord Leicester and Sir Everard Fawkener) immediately complied with the instructions, and in a little over a month, on the 5th of November, had concluded contracts for four vessels, of about two hundred tons each, to carry a crew of thirty men, with six carriage guns mounted and four swivel guns. The pay was

£700 for each voyage—out and home—the time for the double voyage being estimated at four months. The first packet service thus inaugurated was maintained by the packet-ships, *Earl of Halifax*, *Earl of Leicester*, *General Wall*, and *Harriot*.

At the conclusion of the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, by which Canada and Florida were ceded to England, a group of British merchants, supported by Governor-General Murray, urged the establishment of a regular post between New York and Quebec. The Postmasters-General impressed upon Franklin and Foxcroft (who had been appointed in Hunter's place, October 2, 1761), "that they cannot exert themselves on any subject which will do them greater service than rendering the intercourse of letters every day more and more safe, expeditious and frequent to their fellow-subjects." Franklin and Foxcroft undertook a survey of the post routes already in existence. Their journey occupied them for several months. They travelled sixteen hundred miles, and submitted their report to London early in 1764, accompanying the written statement with maps which unfortunately are no longer in existence.

By this time the excellent management of the Post-office was producing unexpected results. From August 10, 1761, to the beginning of 1764 the receipts were £3818. 0. 5¾. The disbursements were £1747. 8. 2½, leaving a surplus of £2070. 12. 3¼. The Postmasters-General, surprised at the remittances, recommended the proposals of their deputies in America to the Lords of the Treasury, saying that "the Posts in America are under the management of persons of acknowledged ability."

In the "Commission Book, 1759–1854" (p. 53), belong-

ing to the General Post Office, London, may be seen the renewal of Franklin's commission: —

"Know ye, that we, the said William Earl of Bessborough and Thomas, Lord Grantham, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia and John Foxcroft, of New York, Esquires and having received good Testimony of their Fidelity and Loyalty to his Majesty, and of their Ability and Sufficiency to manage and better regulate the Posts on the Continent of North America, and of their Inclination and Capacity to improve and advance His Majesty's Revenues therein, do, by these Presents nominate, depute, constitute, authorize and appoint them, the said Benjamin Franklin and John Foxcroft and the survivor of them, our Deputy Postmasters and Managers of the Posts in all His Majesty's Provinces and Dominions on the said Continent of North America, except North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, East Florida, West Florida, the Bahama Islands, and their Dependencies to have, hold, exercise and enjoy the said office with all other Powers, Privileges, Profits, Advantages and Authorities thereunto belonging unto them the said Benjamin Franklin and John Foxcroft and the survivor of them, from the day of the date hereof, for and during the term of three years, or till they receive a new Commission from us, or till this present Commission be superseded." Signed Sept. 25, 1765, Bessborough and Grantham.

At the time that this commission was issued, Franklin was in England and occupied with the affairs of the Stamp Act. He continued to discharge his duties as agent in London for Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, and delegated the function of postmaster to Foxcroft, his associate in that office. That this absentee administration of his office was not satis-

factory to his superiors in England is evident from the following letter preserved in the General Post Office:—

June 4, 1768

SIR

Lord Sandwich signified lately to the Duke of Grafton that if there were no good reasons for suffering Mr. Franklin one of the Deputy Postmasters General of North America remaining here, the Postmasters General were of opinion he ought, after some years absence, to return thither to his Duty and having by the last Packet Boat received a Letter from his Colleague Mr. Foxcroft of which the inclosed is a Copy makes it necessary to request His Grace's Pleasure thereupon. I am Sir, etc.

ANTH. TODD, *sec'y*

THOMAS BRADSHAW, *Esq.*

Franklin continued to reside in England, and after his examination before the Privy Council on the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly for the removal of Governor Hutchinson, he was dismissed from office, January 31, 1774. At this time the American post-office was yielding three times as much clear revenue to the crown as that of Ireland. Some bitterness of feeling entered into Franklin's letter to Thomas Cushing (February 15, 1774) announcing his dismissal: "I received a written notice from the secretary of the general post-office, that his Majesty's postmaster general *found it necessary* to dismiss me from my office of deputy post-master general in North America. The expression was well chosen, for in truth they were *under a necessity* of doing it; it was not their own inclination; they had no fault to find with my conduct in the office; they knew my merit in it, and that if it was now an

office of value it had become such chiefly through my care and good management; that it was worth nothing when given to me; it would not then pay the salary allowed me, and unless it did I was not to expect it; and that it now produces near three thousand pounds a year clear to the treasury here. They had beside a personal regard for me. But as the post-offices in all the principal towns are growing daily more and more valuable by the increase of correspondence, the officers being paid *commissions* instead of *salaries*, the ministers seem to intend, by directing me to be displaced on this occasion, to hold out to them all an example, that if they are not corrupted by their office to promote the measures of administration, though against the interests and rights of the colonies, they must not expect to be continued."

He continued to correspond with the General Post Office with regard to his accounts. His last letter was dated March 24, 1776. It was not until 1783 that the Post-office replied to this seven-year-old letter. I copy this epistolary curiosity from the "American Letter Book, 1773–1783" (General Post Office, London).

June 25, 1783

DEAR SIR

I must confess I have taken a long time to acknowledge the last letter you were pleased to write me the 24th of March 1776 from New York.

I am happy however to learn from my nephew Mr. George Maddison that you enjoy good Health and that as the French were about to establish five Packet Boats at L'Orient for the purpose of a monthly Correspondence between that Post and New York you were desirous of knowing the Intentions of England on that subject. I am going out of Town for a

few days and do not write to you quite officially at present but I can venture to assure you it is the wish of His Majesty's Post Master General to continue the Communication with New York by the Packet Boats and that the Mails should be dispatched both to and from that place the first Wednesday in every Month as at present and to Appoint an Agent to reside at New York for the Management of the Business there. If this should meet your Ideas very little Regulation will be necessary for carrying on the Correspondence with the United States after New York has been evacuated, as the Packet Postage of one shilling for single Letters and so in proportion, as settled by Act of Parliament must be continued, but I do not know how far it might be of advantage to both Countries to leave it, as at present, to the Option of the writer to pay or not the Postage beforehand and keep accounts on both sides of the internal Postage up to London and to New York and therefore I should be glad to be favoured with your Sentiments fully upon this Point, or upon any other, not doubting from my long experience of your candour and abilities, that everything will be easily adjusted to the reciprocal advantage of both countries. I am dear sir, with the greatest Truth and Respect, your most obedient and most humble servant

ANTHONY TODD.[1]

Of Franklin's career in the Assembly, his part in the

[1] An understanding of the rapid growth in the business of the Post-office may be obtained by comparing with the figures quoted for 1753–1764 the following statement of account for 1768–1769. "Income of Post Office of Northern Department of North America as per Benjamin Franklin and John Foxcroft; From Oct. 2. 1768 to March 4, 1769, £3285. 10. 6¼. To charges of managing Post Office, as per Benjamin Franklin and John Foxcroft to October 2, 1769 £1426. 11. 10."

making and the adoption of the Albany Plan of Union, his persistent criticism of the Proprietors, and his generous and effectual aid of Braddock and his army, sufficient has already been said elsewhere in this work. (Vol. I, pp. 152–163.)

His zeal and expedition in obtaining one hundred and fifty wagons and two hundred and fifty-nine pack-horses for Braddock won the warm approval of right-minded persons upon both sides of the sea.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania gave him a unanimous vote of thanks, and General Braddock reported to the Secretary of State (June 5, 1755) that Franklin's prompt action was "almost the only instance of address and fidelity which I have seen in all these provinces." Franklin's sense of the gravity of the situation had led him to put in peril his entire fortune. He not only advanced for the expenses of the army thirteen hundred pounds of his own money, but he also gave bonds for the safe return of twenty thousand pounds' worth of horses and wagons. Fortunately Braddock returned a few days before the battle an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. "I consider this payment as good luck," said Franklin, "having never been able to obtain that remainder."

The owners of the wagons and horses came upon him for the valuation which he had given bond to pay. To pay claims, amounting to twenty thousand pounds, would have ruined him. After a considerable time General Shirley appointed commissioners to examine the claims and to order payment. At the same time (September 17, 1755) he wrote from Oswego personally to thank Franklin for his great

public service and to express his regret that payment had not previously been made.[1]

When the tidings of the disaster to Braddock reached Philadelphia, Franklin was at once consulted by the governor. His advice was that Colonel Dunbar commanding the sad remnant of the defeated army should post his troops on the frontier and check pursuit until reënforcements could be raised in the colonies. In the midst of the alarm and desperation of the hour the old party feud of the Proprietaries and the Assembly stood unchanged and uncompromising. "The shocking news of the strange, unprecedented, and ignominious defeat of General Braddock had no more effect," said William Franklin, "upon Governor Morris than the miracles of Moses had on the heart of Pharaoh." The Assembly voted large sums, but decreed that all estates, real and personal, were to be taxed, "those of the proprietaries *not* excepted." The governor substituted *only* for *not*. No concession would be made by either party. While this weary, ineffectual wrangling continued during the months of July, August, September, and October, the undefended province was being harried and plundered. Families were scalped and murdered, not only on the frontier, but in villages less than a hundred miles from Philadelphia.

[1] Colonel Henry Bouquet, a British officer who had played a conspicuous part in the French and Indian Wars, and who was on terms of intimate friendship with Washington, wrote to Franklin (August 22, 1764): "I know that General Shirley owed to you the considerable supply of Provisions this Government voted for his Troops, besides warm Cloathing, etc. That you alone could and did procure to General Braddock the carriages without which he could not have proceeded on his Expedition, That you had a Road opened thro' this Province to supply more easily his Army with Provisions, and spent a Summer in these different Services without any other Reward than the Satisfaction of serving the Public."

Fearful at last that their estates might be forfeited, the Proprietaries ordered five thousand pounds to be added to any sum that the Assembly might vote for the purpose of defence. Thereupon the Assembly voted in November sixty thousand pounds and exempted, but with formal protest, the proprietary estates, and appointed Franklin one of seven commissioners for expending it. Franklin devoted himself with energy to persuading the factions to lay aside their controversies and to arm in the defence of the colony. (See "Dialogue of X, Y, and Z," Vol. I, p. 162.)

Robert Hunter Morris, Lieutenant Governor and commander-in-chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, issued to him the following commission: "I do hereby authorize and empower you to take into your charge the county of Northampton, to dismiss all persons who have been commissioned by me to any military command and to put others into their places; and to fill up the blank commissions herewith delivered, with the names of such persons as you shall judge fit for his Majesty's service; hereby ratifying all your acts and proceedings done in virtue of this power; and approving the expenses accruing thereupon. And I do further order and enjoin all officers and soldiers to yield obedience to you in the execution of this power, and all magistrates, sheriffs, and others in any kind of civil authority, and all his Majesty's liege subjects, to be aiding and assisting you in the premises. Given under my hand and seal, at Reading, this 5th day of January 1756."

Invested with this authority, Franklin took charge of the Northwestern frontier, raised troops, and erected blockhouses. January the fifteenth he started with Captain Foulke

and forty-seven men to march to Gnadenhütten, beyond the mountains, to establish a fort there. For three days they proceeded with great order and regularity through a continued scene of horror and destruction: "Where lately flourished a happy and peaceful village, is now all silent and desolate; the Houses burnt, the Inhabitants butchered in the most shocking manner, their mangled Bodies for want of Funerals expos'd to Birds and Beasts of Prey, and all Kinds of Mischief perpetrated that wanton Cruelty can invent. We have omitted nothing since our Arrival that can contribute to the Happiness and Security of the Country in general. Mr. Franklin will at least deserve a Statue for his Prudence, Justice, Humanity, and above all for his Patience." [1]

The fort which they built at this place of massacre they named Fort Allen. It stood where the town of Wiessport now stands, in Carbon County, on the Lehigh River, about ten miles above Lehigh Gap.

For almost a month Franklin remained in this savage region, building forts and hunting Indians. He returned when the new Assembly met (February, 1756), and forthwith found his time consumed by the old and changeless quarrel. "I find," he wrote to his sister, "the more I seek for leisure and retirement from business, the more I am engaged in it."

The governor offered him a general's commission if he would undertake the reduction of Fort Duquesne. He declined, but accepted an appointment as "Colonel of a regiment of foot militia formed in, and called the Regiment of the city of Philadelphia." (February 24, 1756.)

Affairs were disheartening and well-nigh desperate.

[1] Letter by Thomas Lloyd, dated at Gnadenhütten, January 31, 1756 (in The American Philosophical Society).

Oswego surrendered to the French, and the New England army collected at Lake George was so wasted by disease and desertion as to be of little strength or value. Hundreds of lives had been lost, farms were destroyed, and nearly £100,000 expended. The treasury was empty, the expenses excessive, and a vast frontier to be defended. Franklin believed that the cheapest and most effectual defence would be an expedition by sea against Quebec. But none agreed with him. Fresh taxes were laid upon wine and liquors, but the governor, jealously guarding the Penn estate, refused to consent to it. In the last week of October, Franklin was ordered to attend the new governor, William Denny,[1] at Easton, in Northampton county, on a treaty with the Delaware Indians. William Logan and Richard Peters, on the part of the Council, and Joseph Fox, William Masters, and John Hughes, as delegates from the Assembly, were the other commissioners who met in conference at the Forks of the Delaware upon November the eighth, with Teedyuscung, king of the Delawares. The Indians complained of injuries from the proprietor, and Franklin writing to Collinson gave his impression of the charges: "It is said by many here that the Delawares were grossly abused in the Walking Purchase; that they have frequently complain'd, and their Complaints were suppress'd or conceal'd, and the 6 Nations set on their Backs to make them quiet. That they have remembered these things, and, now, by the Connivance of the 6 Nations, as 'tis thought, and supported by the French, they have taken Revenge."

The governor laid before the Assembly an estimate of the

[1] Morris ceased to be governor, August 19, 1756, and Captain Denny ruled in his stead. "Change of devils, according to the Scotch proverb, is blithesome," said William Franklin, when he heard the news.

necessary expense for defending the province one year, amounting to £125,000. The Assembly deducted the least necessary articles, granted £100,000 and sent the bill to the governor, "Not that we thought this Province capable of paying such a Tax yearly, or anything near it, but believing it necessary to exert ourselves at this time in an extraordinary Manner, to save the Country from total Ruin by the Enemy."[1] The governor rejected the bill. Three-fourths of the troops must be disbanded, and the country exposed to the mercy of the enemy "rather than the least tittle of a Proprietary Instruction should be deviated from!"

The Assembly resolved to send home a remonstrance, and appointed Isaac Norris, the Speaker of the House, and Benjamin Franklin to go to England "as Commissioners to solicit the removal of grievances occasioned by proprietary instructions," etc. Norris declined to serve. It was then resolved "that Benjamin Franklin be and he is hereby appointed Agent of this Province, to solicit and transact the Affairs thereof in Great Britain." (February 3, 1757.)

We are about to enter upon a new epoch of Franklin's life, and in taking leave of the old it may be worth while to print the record of his six years of service in the General Assembly. This historical document exists, in Franklin's handwriting, in the Library of Congress.

[1] Franklin to Robert Charles, February 1, 1757.

B. FRANKLIN'S SERVICES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1751

Aug. 13. Takes his seat in Assembly. Put on a Committee to prepare a Bill, same day.

Aug. 15. Sent up with a Message to Govr J^n. H^n.

Aug. 17. On a Comm^ee to prepare an answer to Govr Messages.

Aug. 20. Reports on the subject of a Bridge over Skuylkill.

Aug. 22. Reports on the subject of Indian Expences. Seven Resolutions N. C. D., of his Drawing, upon that Report. Appointed on a Committee to draw an address to the Bonrick [mutilated] ing in pursuance of those Resolves.

Aug. 23. Reported the same.

Aug. 24. It was approved — but not put on the Minutes.

Oct. 14. Return'd a Member for Philada.
Sent on a Message to the Gov.

Oct. 15. On the Committee of Acc^ts, and Comm^ee of Grievances, and Comm^ee to revise the Minutes.

Oct. 16. On Committee of Correspondence.

1752

Feb. 3. On a Message to the Governor.

Feb. 7. On Comm^ee to inspect Accts.

Feb. 8. On D^o to consider a Petition of Bakers.

Feb. 17. On D^o for examining the laws relating to fees.

Feb. 24. On D^o for a Bill relating to Dogs.

March 6. On D^o to answer a Message.

March 11. On D^o to see the Great Seal affixed to laws.

On D° to inquire into the State of our Paper Currency, Trade, Numbers of People, etc.

Aug. 13. On a Message to the Govr with the Bill of Fees.

Aug. 20. On a Committee for Conference with the Govr on that Bill.

Makes report in writing on the State of Currency etc.

Aug. 21. Ordered to meet some of the Council, etc.

Aug. 22. On a Message to Governor.

Oct. 14. Return'd a Member for Philad^a.

Sent on a Message to the Govr.

Oct. 17. Appointed on 4 Committees, viz., Grievances, Revisal of Minutes [and ?] Accounts, Correspondence, Laws, [mutilated] [wi] th the Speaker to procure Books and Maps. . . . Committee to bring in a Bill . . . the Govr on the Navy Bill . . . Committee [pre]pare a Message . . . of the Com^es of Grievances.

1753

May 30. On a Committee to consider the Representation to the Proprietaries of 1751. And the answer thereto.

On D° to prepare an Answer to Govr Message.

Sept. 1. On a Committee to consider Govr propos'd Amend^mts to a Money Bill.

Sept. 4. On a Committee to answer the Governrs Message.

Sept. 7. On D° to report on a Message from the Govr.

175 [mutilated]

Sept. 15. Return'd again for Philad^a.

Sent on a Message to the Gov[r].

Sept. 16. Appointed on 4 Committees, viz. Correspondence, Grievances, Accts, Revisal of Minutes.

Sept. 17. On two more Committees, viz., To inspect the laws; and the State of Trade, Currency, etc.

1754

Feb. 5. Reports thereupon.

Feb. 14. Translates a French Letter to Gov[r] Dinwiddie.

Feb. 15. Reports on the Laws.

Feb. 26. On a Committee for Indian Trade.

March 5. On D[o] for considering a Petition for laying out Townships.

On D[o] for bringing in a Bill respecting the holding of Courts.

March 6. On D[o] to consider the Western Bounds.

March 7. Reports on D[o].

April 5. On a Committee to bring in a Money Bill.

April 8. Gov[r] appoints him a Commissioner for the Albany Treaty.

April 12. Approved by the Assembly.

April 13. On a Committee to inquire into the facts of a Petition.

April 15. On D[o] to answer a Message from the Gov[r].

April 18. A number of Resolves drawn up by him and agreed to.

Aug. 9. On a Committee to bring in a Money Bill.

Oct. 14. Return'd for Philad[a].

Oct. 15. Appointed on Committees of Grievances, and Revisal of Minutes, and Correspondence.

Dec. 31. Representation to the Proprietaries, draw [muti-

lated] . . . Augt 3 . . . put on the Votes . . . 5 [mutilated]

March 17. Takes his seat in . . . house.

March 18. On a Committee to answer . . . and d . . . the Answers.

1755

March 20. On a Comm^{ee} to answer an . . . Message.
Lays before the house . . . rec'd from the Govr.

March 22. On a Comm^{ee} to bring in a bill relating to provisions exported.
Requested to consider of establishing a Post for General Braddock.

April 1. Memorial from Josiah Quincy drawn by him.

April 2. Sundry Orders of his proposing and drawing to supply N. England with provisions, etc.

April 9. Gives his proposal to the House about the post which was agreed to.

May 12. Receives the thanks of the House for his great Services in his late journey to the back country, etc.

May 14. On a Committee to prepare a state of the Bills.
On D^{o} to prepare a Message to the Govr.

May 16. On D^{o} to answer another Message, and he draws the answer.

June 13. Communicates to the House the letters of thanks he had received from Gen. Sir Peter Halkes and Col. Dunbar.

June 14. On a Comm^{ee} to answer a Message of the Govr.

June 17. On D^{o} to prepare a Bill.

June 17. On D^{o} to prepare another Bill.

June 24. On D° to answer a Message.
July 28. On D° to D°.
July 29. On D° to prepare a Bill for granting £50,000 to the King's use.
Sent with it to the Govr.
Aug. 5. On D° to answer his Message of Amendments.
Aug. 6. On D° to answer a Message and draws it — a long one.
On D° for a Bill to provide Quarters for the King's Troops.
Aug. 13. On D° to answer a long Message.
Aug. 21. On D° to answer a Message.
Aug. 22. To dispose of money for the defence of the frontiers.
Sept. 15. On D° to prepare a Bill for regulating Inspectors.

Sept. 19. Requested by the House to endeavour to prevail with Col. Dunbar to discharge servants and apprentices.
On a Committee to answer a Message.
Produces to the House a letter to himself from T. Hutchison, which induces the grant of £10,000 to Massachusetts.
Sept. 17. Return'd for Philad^a.
Sent with verbal Message to Govr.
On 4 Committees: Correspondence, Grievances, Minutes, Laws.
On D° to bring in a Money Bill £60,000.
On D° to prepare Bill for supplying our Indians.
On D° to answer a Message.
Nov. 10. On a Co. [mutilated] answer a Message.

Nov. 13. On D° [mutilated] . . . sides two applications to the House from Quakers and from the Mayor of Philad^{a}. etc.

Nov. 17. On D° to answer a Message.

Nov. 19. B. . . . Leave . . . brings in a Militia Bill.
On a Committee to answer a Message.

Nov. 20. On a Committee to amend the Militia Bill.

Nov. 22. On D° to consider Gov^{rs} message.

Nov. 25. On D° to bring in a Money Bill exempting the Proprie^{y}. Estate in consideration of their gift of £5,000.

Nov. 29. On D° to answer a message.

Dec. 3. On D° to answer a message.

1756

Feb. I still on the Frontiers building forts.

Feb. 7. On Comm^{ee} to prepare an Address to Govr respecting the enlistment of Servants and draws it.

Feb. 19. Lays before the house letters to him from Gen. Shirley.
On a Comm^{ee} to answer a Message.

March 3. Brings in a Bill by leave of the House to Regulate soldiers, etc.

March 5. Watch and Lamp Bill brought in.

March 10. On Committee to amend Soldiers' Bill.

March 13. Moves the House again on this Bill.
On Comm^{ee} for that purpose.

March 17. Sent with the Bill to the Govr.
Goes to Virginia.

May 12. On Comm^{ee} to answer a Message.

June 2. On D° to D°.

July 22. Then at N. York, charg'd with an address to Gen[l] Shirley, going to England.

Aug. 17. On Comm[ee] to bring in a Bill granting £40,000.

Aug. 20. W. M. Denny, Gov[r].

Aug. 21. On Comm[ee] to prepare address to the Governor.

Aug. 30. On D° to prepare Answers to Govrs. Speech and Message.

Sept. 1. On a Message to the Governor.

Sept. 3. Draws a long Paper of Remarks on Prop[y] Instructions.

Sept. 8. Appointed a Commissioner in the Act . . . £60,000.

Sept. 13. On a Comm[e] to prepare reasons in answer . . . to the Bill.

Sept. 16. Draws Resolutions relating . . .
On Comm[ee] to prepare a new B. . . . D° to D° . . . up with the £30,000 Bi . . .

Oct. 14. Return'd for Philada.

Oct. 18. Order on 3 Committees: Correspondence, Grievances, Minutes.

Oct. 21. On D° for preparing a Bill to regulate the hire of carriages.

Oct. 22. On D° for D° — Billeting of soldiers.

Oct. 26. On D° to confer with Gov[r] about Indians.

Oct. 27. With leave brings in a Bill to regulate forces of this Province.

Oct. 28. As President of the Hospital lays before the House the Acc[ts] thereof.
On a Committee to prepare another Militia Bill.

Oct. 29. On D° to answer Gov[r] Message.

Nov. 5. On D° to compare Bills.
On D° to accompany the Governor to treat with Indians [at] Easton.
Nov. 23. On D° to prepare a Message to the Govr.
Dec. 2. On D° to examine Journals of House of Commons concerning Elections.
Dec. 3. Reports on the same.
Dec. 8. On a Comm^ee to prepare answer to Govr's Message.
Dec. 16. On D° to D° Message concerning Quarters.
Dec. 18. On D° to D°.
Dec. 19. On D° to confer with the Govr.
Dec. 22. On D° to answer a message abt Quarters.
Dec. 24. On D° to prepare a Bill for granting £100,000 by Tax.

1757
Jan. 11. On D° to prepare a Bill to relieve Inn-Keepers.
Jan. 24. On D° to prepare a Bill to strike a sum of Pap. Money.
Jan. 28. On D° to wait on the Govr with a Message.
Jan. 29. Reports concerning the Treaty at Easton.
Is nominated to go to England.
Feb. 1. On a Committee to prepare a new Bill for granting £100,000.
Feb. 3. Accepts the appointment to England.
Appointed Agent.
Feb. 7. On a Comm^ee to answer a Message.
Feb. 12. On D° to D°.
March 22. Govr agrees to pass the Bill for £100,000. This was after B. F.'s conference with him and Ld Loudon.

1759

Feb. 21. Proprietaries' message to the Assembly representing Mr. F. as not a person of Candour, etc.
His heads of Complaint.
Answer thereto by Paris.

. . . 27. Supply . . . B . . . for £100,000 Taxing the P'y Estate passe . . . [mutilated] by Gov . . . eny.
Return' . . . Philada . . .

1760

Oct. 14. Retd for Philada.

Oct. 15. Continu'd Agent with R. —— Charles.

Oct. 18. Governor Hamilton refuses to certify the Assembly's appointment of Franklin and Charles as Agents, etc.
The Assembly order a Certificate from a Notary and appoint a Committee to consider the Govr's refusal, etc. And order the Grant of the Crown to be —— receiv'd by B. F. and lodg'd in the Bank in several names.

1761

Sept. 19. Bills ordered to be drawn on B. F. for the amount of the Parliamentary Grant.

1762

May 6. Several letters of different dates received from him.

Sept. 21. D° . . . informing that he had taken his passage, and left the affairs of the Province with Mr. Jackson.

Oct. 15. Return'd again, as in all the preceding years, a member from Philada.

1763

Jan. 10. In the House again, and on a Committee.
Jan. 12. On another.
Jan. 14. On another and another.
Jan. 18. Engagement of B. F. and R. C. recited.
Jan. 21. On a Committee to prepare a Bill.
Jan. 28. On a D° for another Bill and another.
Feb. 8. On a Committee for another Bill.
Feb. 19. Report on his Accounts and thanks order'd.
March 4. Balance of his Acct. order'd to be paid—£2214. 10. 0.
March 29. On a Committee for a Bill.
March 31. Thanks given him by the Speaker in . . . form, and answer . . .
Apr. . . [mutilated] On a Comm . . . etc. to ansr . . . propose . . . Bill.

CHAPTER III

ACQUAINTANCE WITH ENGLAND

FRANKLIN'S "Autobiography" ends with his arrival in London, July 26, 1757. For twenty-seven years he had lived happily with his wife and little family in Philadelphia; the next twenty-eight years, with the exception of two brief visits to America, were destined to be spent in Europe. He recommended his daughter to her mother "with a

father's tenderest concern," and accompanied by his son and attended by a company of friends rode away across New Jersey.

A long and tedious delay in New York waiting upon the dilatory Lord Loudon was followed by a thirty days' sail across the Atlantic, a narrow escape from shipwreck upon the Cornish coast, and a safe anchorage in Falmouth harbour.

Peter Collinson was eagerly awaiting him in London. James Ralph, who had started a newspaper, the *Protestor*, to help the Duke of Bedford against the Duke of Newcastle, called to renew a friendship that had been interrupted for thirty years. Men of science hastened to make acquaintance with the philosopher whose name was mentioned with respect in every part of Europe. He had an assured position and was already a member of influential societies. He had been elected to the Royal Society, and only a few weeks before leaving home had received from Collinson the agreeable information of that honour. It followed close upon the announcement by William Shipley that he had been elected to the Premium Society, or Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, now known as the Society of Arts.[1] Franklin's "Plan for promoting useful knowledge among the British Plantations in America" had interested Shipley, who hoped to see Great Britain and the Colonies "mutually dear and serviceable to each other." He wrote to Franklin, September 30, 1755, inviting him to join the Society. Franklin replied in the following letter for which I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Wheatley, secretary of the Society of Arts.

[1] William Shipley's letter is dated September 1, 1756 (A. P. S.).

Philad^{a} Nov. 27, 1755.

I have just received your very obliging Favour of the 13th September last; and as this Ship sails immediately have little more time than to thank you cordially for communicating to me the Papers relating to your most laudable undertaking, and to assure you that I should esteem the being admitted into such a Society as a corresponding Member a very great Honour, which I should be glad I could in the least deserve, by promoting in any Degree so useful an Institution. But tho' you do not require your Correspondents to bear any Part of your Expence, you will I hope permit me to throw my Mite into your Fund, and accept of 20 guineas I purpose to send you shortly to be apply'd in Premiums for some Improvement in Britain, as a grateful, tho' small, Return for your most kind and generous Intentions of Encouraging Improvements in America. I flatter myself from that part of your Plan, that those jealousies of her Colonies, which were formerly entertained by the Mother Country, begin to subside. I once wrote a little Paper tending to show that such Jealousies with Regard to Manufactures were ill-founded. It was lately printed in Boston at the End of a Pamphlet which I take the liberty to send you. Never be discouraged by any Apprehension that Arts are come to such Perfection in England as to be incapable of farther Improvement. As yet, the quantity of Human Knowledge bears no Proportion to the Quantity of Human Ignorance. The Improvements made within these 2000 years, considerable as they are, would have been much more so if the Ancients had possessed one or two Arts now in common Use. I mean those of Copper Plate- and Letter-Printing. Whatever is now exactly

delineated and described by those, can scarcely (from the Multitude of Copies) be lost to Posterity. And the knowledge of small Matters being preserv'd gives the Hint, and is sometimes the Occasion of Great Discoveries, perhaps Ages after.

The French War, which came on in 1744, took off our Thoughts from the Prosecution of my Proposal for Promoting useful Knowledge in America; and I have ever since the Peace been so engag'd in other Schemes of various kinds and in publick affairs, as not to find Leisure to revive that useful and very practical Project. But if I live to see our present Disturbances over in this Part of the World, I shall apply myself to it with fresh Spirit, as beside the good that may be done, I hope to make myself thereby a more valuable Correspondent.

You will greatly oblige me by the Communication of the Inventions and Improvements you mention. And as it is a Maxim in Commerce, That there is no Trade without Returns, I shall be always endeavouring to ballance Accounts with you, tho' probably never able to accomplish it.

I am, Sir
Your most obedient
humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

WILLIAM SHIPLEY, ESQUIRE.

He was gratified and elated by the recognition of his scientific achievements, but he was not unmindful of the associations of an earlier day of humbler things. He went to the old printing-house in Lincoln's Inn Fields and sought out the men who worked upon the press at which he had stood in his young manhood, and treated them to a gallon of beer which they drank to the toast "Success to Printing."

He took lodgings at No. 7, Craven Street, Strand. His landlady, Mrs. Margaret Stevenson, became one of his dearest friends. To her daughter, afterward the wife of the famous surgeon Dr. Thomas Hewson, he wrote some of the most interesting letters of his life. He instructed her in science and advised her in all her difficulties. With Mrs. Stevenson the affectionate intimacy continued until her death a quarter of a century after their first acquaintance. Upon the last letter that he received from her, dated July 24, 1782, he wrote: "This good woman, my dear Friend, died the first of January following. She was about my age." [1]

In the Craven Street house he lived in much comfort, occupying four rooms and waited upon by his man-servant and William Franklin's negro attendant. His son was soon entered at the Middle Temple, and Franklin was free to devote himself to the business of the Assembly. He made slow progress. The Proprietors quibbled and evaded, and placed every obstruction in his way that legal ingenuity could contrive. He changed his tactics; ceasing to visit the Proprietaries, he attempted to win the favour of the Lords of Trade and the members of the King's Council, and to combat certain prejudices that existed in the minds of Englishmen concerning the colonists. It may have been in consequence of advice of this kind given by Mr. Charles, a lawyer retained by the Assembly, that, in 1759, a voluminous work appeared, entitled "An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its Origin." It was published anonymously, but suspicion was immediately directed to Franklin as its author. He sent five hundred copies of it to David Hall for distribution in Pennsylvania,

[1] Letter in University of Pennsylvania.

and twenty-five copies to his nephew, Mecom, in Boston, and the same number to James Parker, his former Partner, in New York.

While the volume was silently influencing the public opinion of England, Franklin was enjoying something like leisure. He resumed scientific studies and continued his correspondence with the learned men of Europe. Fresh recognition of his contributions to science came to him from Scotland, when in February, 1759, the University of St. Andrews conferred upon him the honorary degree by virtue of which he was ever after known as *Dr.* Franklin. In the records of the Senatus Academicus of that University occurs this entry:—

"12, Feb. 1759

"Conferred the Degree of Doctor in Laws on Mr. Benjamin Franklin, famous for his writings on Electricity, and appoint his diploma to be given to him gratis, the Clerk and Archbeadle's dues to be paid by the Library Quæstor." [1]

In the late summer of 1759 he journeyed to Scotland, and for the first time visited Edinburgh: "that garret of the earth — that knuckle-end of England — that land of Calvin, oat cakes and sulphur," as Sydney Smith described it. Great honour was done him. The Universities entertained him, and the corporation of Edinburgh conferred upon him the freedom of the city. He was invited to the great houses of the country. Hume, Robertson, Lord Kames, and Sir

[1] In the library of the University are still to be seen two books presented by Dr. Franklin: one is "New Experiments and Observations," 1754, "Dono dedit Auctor"; the other, "Experiments and Observations," 1769, "Ex dono Auctoris." The first volume of Transactions of The American Philosophical Society, presented by Franklin, May 19, 1773, I am told, cannot now be traced in the library.

Alexander Dick were particularly prominent in their hospitality. He was delighted with his entertainment and declared to Lord Kames that he had spent in Scotland "six weeks of the *densest*[1] happiness I have met with in any part of my life." After completing a tour of fifteen hundred miles, ending with a ramble through Yorkshire and Lincolnshire he wrote to Sir Alexander Dick: "No part of our Journey affords us, on Recollection, a more pleasing Remembrance than that which relates to Scotland, particularly the time we so agreably spent with you, your Friends & Family. The many Civilities, Favours and Kindnesses heap'd upon us while we were among you, have made the most lasting Impression on our Minds, and have endear'd that Country to us beyond Expression."

Unfortunately, very slight record remains of the social entertainments and conversation of that visit. Alexander Carlyle notes in his Autobiography that he and his friend, Dr. Wight, met "the celebrated Dr. Franklin" at Dr. Robertson's house in Edinburgh in September, 1759. "Dr. Franklin had his son with him; and besides Wight and me there were David Hume, Dr. Cullen, Adam Smith, and two or three more. . . . Franklin's son was open and communicative, and pleased the company better than his father, and some of us observed indications of that decided difference of opinion between father and son which in the American war alienated them altogether."[2]

Could it have been Franklin's notable dislike for con-

[1] Sydney Smith, dwelling "amid odious-smells, barbarous sounds, bad suppers, excellent hearts and most enlightened understandings," would surely have cut a caper had he happened upon this felicitous and subtly descriptive adjective.

[2] Carlyle, "Autobiography," p. 320. Boston edition, 1861.

troversy that held him silent in the company of these native metaphysicians, born to argument and bred in polemics? Disputation is the business of lawyers, and the habit of men of all sorts who have been educated at the University of Edinburgh, said Franklin.

The younger Franklin, "a born courtier" as his father said of him, seems to have made upon all those who met him socially an impression similar to that described by Carlyle. To Strahan he appeared "one of the prettiest young gentlemen" he ever knew from America, — "He seems to me to have a solidity of judgment, not very often to be met with in one of his years." More than a half century later Crabbe Robinson met him at the Society of the Attic Chest. No one had a more expert eye for the good points and the social defects of a man than Crabbe Robinson, and he entered in his Diary, "Old General Franklin, son of the celebrated Benjamin was of the party. He is eighty-four years of age, has a courtier-like mien and must have been a very fine man. He is now very animated and interesting, but does not at all answer to the idea one would naturally form of the son of the great Franklin." [1]

It is repeated in nearly every account of Franklin's life, that he received a degree from the University of Edinburgh. It is an error. He was admitted as a "Burges and Gildbrother of Edinburgh" (September 5, 1759), and he was an original

[1] Crabbe Robinson, "Diary," I, p. 242. Boston, 1898.

The Society of the Attic Chest was a small society, the members of which sent verses which were put in a box and furnished an evening's amusement. The box was actually made in Athens. The date of this meeting was March 18, 1812. Franklin died in November of the following year.

After leaving Edinburgh, Dr. Franklin travelled to Dunkeld, Perth, and St. Andrews in company with John Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow.

Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and of the Philosophical Society which was absorbed in the Royal Society at the date of its foundation in 1782, but he received no academic honours from the University. It is not a little singular that it should be so. At the time of Franklin's first visit Dr. Robertson, the head of the University, was the centre of the literary and social life of the city. He entertained for Franklin feelings of the highest respect, and in later years came into the closer relations of friendship with him. Franklin occasionally recommended American scholars as worthy candidates for the honorary degree. Ezra Stiles's diploma of Doctor of Divinity was procured from Edinburgh University in 1765 through Franklin's exertions. He successfully recommended Professor Winthrop, the Hollisian Professor of Harvard, after he had been rejected by Oxford because he was a Dissenter. In the Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles under the date December 4, 1772, occurs the entry, "Finished reading Mr. Marchant's Travels and Memoirs in six books Mss. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was with Mr. Marchant at Edinburgh, and politely offered to recommend him to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctorate in Laws; but he declined it."[1]

Among the Franklin papers in The American Philo-

[1] "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.," by F. B. Dexter, N.Y. 1901, Vol. I, p. 304. Dr. Stiles proceeds to quote from Mr. Marchant's manuscript thus: "Monday November 4, 1771 [returned to Edinburgh] Dr. Franklin came in to see me, and by a most open disengaged Frankness in his conversation afforded me much pleasure. And made me a most genteel Tender of honourably recommending me to the Edinburgh University." A further entry under date of November 20, 1771, states, "Dined at Dr. Ferguson's, Professor of Moral Philosophy, in company with D. Hume, Dr. Franklin, Dr. Black, and Dr. Russel [Professor of Natural Philosophy], and next day Dr. Franklin took leave and departed for London."

sophical Society is the following letter to Franklin from Dr. Robertson:—

College of Edin^bro
Decr 12th 1768

DEAR SIR

I was favoured with your letter of the 26th recommending Mr. Rogers of New York to a degree in Divinity. I hope that I need not say that every request from you, has with me the authority of a command, because I am sure you will recommend no person who is not entitled to that mark of our respect which you sollicit for him. On this occasion I have not the entire merit of confiding in your testimony. Mr. Rogers's character was known to some Gentlemen here and their account of him fully confirms every thing that you have said in his favour. The degree of D.D. is accordingly conferred upon him. His diploma is ordered to be made out, and shall be sent by the first person I can find to take charge of it. I have drawn upon you by this post for £12. 7. 6. I have time to add no more as the post is going but that I am with great respect and attachment, Dear Sir,

Your most faithfull humble Servant
WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

The highest literary honour ever conferred upon Franklin was the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws from the University of Oxford. In the records of the University is found the following note:—

"Feb. 22, 1762 Agreed, nem con. at a meeting of the Heads of Houses that Mr. Franklin whenever he shall please to visit the University shall be offer'd the Compliment of the Degree of D.C.L. *Honoris causa.*

"J. BROWNE Vice can."

At the convocation of April 30, 1762, he was admitted a D.C.L. In the indisposition or absence of the Regius Professor of Civil Law, Thomas Jenner, D.C.L., Franklin was duly introduced by the Deputy, William Seward. As an additional compliment his son was presented by the Public Orator for the honorary M.A. The notable and interesting fact of father and son receiving the higher and lower degrees together, Dr. Murray thinks is "almost without parallel in the history of Oxford." [1] The lover of academic Latin will pardon me for quoting at this point the record of the ceremony taken from a certified copy made by the Keeper of the Archives.

"Term
"Paschatis Dño Dre Browne Vice Cancellario
"1762

"Die Ven. viz Tricesimo Die Mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. 1762 Causa Convocationis erat ut Ornatissimus Vir Benjaminus Franklin Armiger, Provinciæ Pensylvaniæ Deputatus, ad Curiam Serenissimi Regis Legatus, Tabellariorum per Americam Septentrionalem Præfectus Generalis, necnon Regiæ Societatis Socius (si ita Venerabili Cœtui placeret) ad Gradum Doctoris in Jure Civili, et Gulielmus Franklin Armiger Juris Municipalis Consultus ad Gradum Magistri in Artibus admitterentur, necnon, &c. &c. [the usual clause to admit of any other business]. Causa Convocationis sic indicta, proponente singillatim Domino Vice-Cancellario, placuit Venerabili Cœtui ut prædictus Ornatissimus Vir

[1] "Franklin's Oxford Degree," by J. A. H. Murray, *The Nation*, November 19, 1903.

The fullest information about Franklin's honorary degrees is to be found in "Historic Side-lights," E. P. Arnold.

Benjaminus Franklin Armiger ad Gradum Doctoris in Jure Civili, et Gulielmus Franklin Armiger ad Gradum Magistri in Artibus, Honoris Causa admitterentur.

"Spectatissimum Virum Benjaminum Franklin Armigerum præeuntibus Bedellis in Domum Convocationis ingressum Dextraque prehensum Dñus Dr̃ Seward Collegii Divi Joannis Baptistæ Socius sub eleganti Orationis Formula Dño Vice-Cancellario et Procuratoribus præsentabat ut ad Gradum Doctoris in Jure Civili Honoris Causa admitteretur. Quemque hoc modo præsentatum Dñus Vice-Cancellarius sua et totius Universitatis authoritate ad dictum Gradum Honoris Causa solemniter admisit.

"Ornatissimum Juvenem Gulielmum Franklin Armigerum a Thóma Nowel A.M. Collegii Orielensis Socio et Publico Oratore similiter præsentatum Dñus Vice Cancellarius ad Gradum Magistri in Artibus similiter admisit."[1]

An echo of the proprietary feud was heard even among the quiet quadrangles of Oxford. Dr. William Smith had espoused the cause of the Proprietors, and, being in England soliciting aid for the college in Philadelphia, took occasion to vilify Franklin upon every opportunity. "I made that man my enemy," said Franklin, "by doing him too much kindness. 'Tis the honestest way of acquiring an Enemy." Some of his slander Smith distilled in a letter to Dr. Fry, the President of

[1] In July, 1753, he received the honorary Master of Arts from Harvard College, and at the September Commencement of the same year he received the diploma of the same degree from Yale. Ezra Stiles notes in his Diary (III, 391) that "We [Yale College] from 1749 and onward adopted with avidity and before all the rest of the learned world his electrical and philosophical Discoveries. In 1755 I made a gratulatory oration to him in the College Hall, celebrating his philosophic discoveries and congrat[s] his Honours from the Republic of Letters." William and Mary conferred upon him the degree Master of Arts, April 2, 1756.

St. John's College. But the letter coming to the notice of Dr. Kelly occasioned the following correspondence: —

DR. J. KELLY TO WILLIAM STRAHAN (A. P. S.)

Oxford, Feb. 11, 1763

DEAR SIR

Dr Smith was lately here collecting for his Academy, and having been questioned concerning a letter He promised to write to the President of St. John's in the presence of Mr Strahan & other Gentlemen, (which letter was to retract the imputations of a former letter against Dr Franklin), He denied the whole, & even treated the question as a Calumny. I make no other comment on this behaviour, than in considering him extremely unworthy of the Honour, he has received, from our University.

When you write to Dr Franklin pray convey my best respects to him & to the Governour of new Jersey.

I beg my most sincere Compliments to Mrs. Strahan, and am, Dr Sir, etc. J. KELLY.

William Strahan replied: "As to Dr. Smith, True it is that Dr. Franklin and he met at my House and in my Presence read over his letter to Dr Fry, Paragraph by Paragraph, when Dr Smith acknowledged that it contained many Particulars in which he had been misled by wrong Information, and that the whole was written with too much rancor and Asperity; but that he would write to the D^r^ contradicting what was false in it. — I proposed his doing this without delay, as there was no Difficulty in his pointing out what was true or false in his letter; and that the more explicitely and candidly he performed this Task, the better Opinion Dr Fry must form of his own Honesty. — He nevertheless declined

doing it then, but promised to call on me in a day or two, and shew me the Letter before he sent it; which however, he has never yet thought fit to do."

Midway between his Scotch and English honours, or in the summer of 1761, Franklin crossed to Holland and made a tour of the low countries. He returned to London in September to witness the coronation of George III. It is interesting to recall the loyal enthusiasm with which he regarded the young king. When William Strahan wrote to him expressing melancholy apprehensions of the future, Franklin replied: "Let me remind you that I have sometimes been in the right in such cases when you happen'd to be in the wrong; as I can prove upon you out of this very letter of yours. Call to mind your former fears for the King of Prussia, and remember my telling you that the man's abilities were more than equal to all the force of his enemies, and that he would finally extricate himself and triumph. . . . You now fear for our virtuous young king, that the factions forming will overpower him and render his reign uncomfortable. On the contrary, I am of Opinion that his virtue and the consciousness of his sincere intentions to make his people happy will give him firmness and steadiness in his Measures and in the support of the honest friends he has chosen to serve him; and when that firmness is fully perceived, faction will dissolve and be dissipated like a morning fog before the rising sun, leaving the rest of the day clear, with a sky serene and cloudless. Such, after a few of the first years, will be the future course of his Majesty's reign, which I predict will be happy and truly glorious."

The great accomplishments of England in India and in America excited Franklin's imagination. Visions of the vast

future of the British Empire trailed their glories before him. Clive in India and Wolfe in Canada convinced him that the peace and the prosperity of the world rested with Great Britain. He was naturally an imperialist, and he welcomed every extension of the might and majesty of his country. He wrote to Lord Kames: "No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British Empire lie in America; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am therefore by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous, by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world! If the French remain in Canada they will continually harass our colonies by the Indians and impede if not prevent their growth; your progress to greatness will at best be slow, and give room for many accidents that may forever prevent it. But I refrain, for I see you begin to think my notions extravagant, and look upon them as the ravings of a mad prophet."[1] A "mad prophet" indeed Franklin must have seemed to those politicians who in 1760 advocated the giving up of Canada, and "mad" his doctrines must have appeared to those states—

[1] To Lord Kames, January 3, 1760.

men a hundred years later who declared the colonies to be mill-stones about the neck of England. But his ideas as set forth in "The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to her Colonies," — a pamphlet which brought about the retention of Canada, — fructifying the mind of Cobden and inspiring the thought of Molesworth, have triumphed in the glorious fabric of the imperial connection of greater Britain resting upon its firm foundation of colonial democracies as Franklin foresaw and defined them.

The notions of those critics who believed that Canada was too large to be peopled by England, that it was not worth possessing, and that the possession of it would draw on England the envy of other powers, Franklin was "every day and every hour combating"[1] and with the satisfaction of knowing that he could flatter himself that his presence in England was "of some service to the general interest of America."[2]

In June, 1760, after three years of litigation, Franklin brought to a close the controversy with the proprietors, who at last recognized the right of taxing the proprietary estates. Two years longer he remained in England advocating the annexation of Canada to the Empire.[3]

About the end of August, 1762, he departed for America in company with ten sail of merchant ships under the convoy of a man-of-war. "The weather was so favourable that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other and on board of the man-of-war; which made the time pass agreeably, much more so than

[1] To John Hughes, January 7, 1760.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See "On disposing an Enemy to Peace," Vol. IV, p. 90.

when one goes in a single ship; for this was like travelling in a moving village, with all one's neighbours about one."[1]

On the 1st of November he arrived in Philadelphia. His son William, a few days before sailing, had been named governor of New Jersey, and the ministry and the friends of the Proprietaries believed that Franklin would be consequently less active in opposition. Thomas Penn wrote to Governor Hamilton, "I am told you will find Mr. Franklin more tractable, and I believe we shall, in matters of prerogative; as his son must obey instructions, and what he is ordered to do the father cannot well oppose in Pennsylvania."[2]

The son arrived in February, 1763, with his wife, "a very agreeable West India lady" by the name of Downes, and was accompanied by Franklin to his government. The latter had been chosen yearly during his absence in England to represent the city of Philadelphia in the Assembly. He now submitted to that body a statement of his expenses: —

"Philadelphia, Feb. 9, 1763.

"SIR: — It is now six years since, in obedience to the order of the House, I undertook a voyage to England, to take care of their affairs there.

"Fifteen hundred pounds of the publick money was at different times put into my hands, for which I ought to account,

[1] To Lord Kames, June 2, 1765.

[2] The appointment of William Franklin was made by Lord Halifax upon the solicitation of the Earl of Bute. Upon the afternoon of September 2 the *London Chronicle* published the following paragraph: "This morning was married at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, William Franklin, Esq. the new appointed Governor of New Jersey, to Miss Elizabeth Downes, of St. James's Street."

and I was instructed to keep accounts of the disbursements I sh [torn out] make in the publick service.

"But I soon found such accounts were in many instances impracticable. For example, I took my son with me, partly to assist me as a clerk and otherways in the publick service, and partly to improve him by showing him the world. His services were considerable, but so intermixed with private services, as that I could not well attend to [*sic*]. I made journies, partly for health, and partly that I might, by country visits to persons of influence, have more convenient opportunities of discoursing them on our publick affairs, the expense of which journeys was not easily proportion'd and separated. And being myself honour'd with visits from persons of quality and distinction, I was obliged for the credit of the province to live in a fashion and expense, suitable to the publick character I sustain'd, and much above what I should have done if I had been consider'd merely as a private person: and this difference of expense was not easy to distinguish, and charge in my accounts. The long sickness and frequent relapses I had the first and part of the second winter, occasioned by a change of climate, were many ways expensive to me, of which I could keep no acct. if indeed I ought to have charg'd the province with such expenses."

In the spring of 1763 he set out on a tour through the Northern Colonies to inspect and regulate the post-offices in the several provinces. He returned in November after having travelled about sixteen hundred miles. His departure was in the midst of the rejoicing that followed upon the treaty of Paris. That he shared the common joy is evident from a letter addressed to his friend William Strahan: —

"May 9, 1763.

"I congratulate you sincerely on the signing of the definitive treaty, which, if agreeable to the preliminaries, gives us peace the most advantageous as well as glorious that was ever before attained by Britain. Throughout this continent I find it universally approved and applauded; and I am glad to find the same sentiment prevailing in your Parliament and the unbiased part of the nation. Grumblers there will always be among you, where power and places are worth striving for, and those who cannot obtain them are angry with all that stand in their way. Such would have clamored against a ministry not their particular friends, even if instead of Canada and Louisiana they had obtained a cession of the kingdom of heaven. . . ."

Scarcely had he returned when the terrible conspiracy of Pontiac dismayed the colonies. Franklin was appointed one of the commissioners to dispose of the public money appropriated for the raising and paying an army to act against the Indians and defend the frontiers. The Scotch-Irish of the western counties, enraged by the outrages committed by the savages, ascribed their calamities to the mistaken policy of peace and lenity pursued by the Quakers. Blinded and perverted by wrath and revenge, they invoked the aid of the holy Scriptures and compared themselves to the ancient Israelites working out the inexorable will of an offended Deity. In December (1763) two insurrections took place in which twenty friendly Indians, — men, women, and children, — living peaceably near Lancaster, were murdered and scalped and their village destroyed by fire: "When the poor wretches saw they had no protection nigh, nor could possibly escape, and being without the least weapon for defense, they divided

into their little families, the children clinging to the parents; they fell on their knees, protested their innocence, declared their love to the English, and that in their whole lives they had never done them injury; and in this posture they all received the hatchet." [1]

The rioters, men of Lebanon, Paxton, Donegal, and Hanover, threatened further attacks upon the Indians of Province Island. The sentiment of their neighbours sanctified their atrocities as a religious crusade. Franklin wrote a pamphlet entitled "A Narrative of the Late Massacres in Lancaster County," intended, as he said, "to strengthen the hands of our weak government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious." [2] One hundred and forty terror-stricken Indians, peaceable converts of the Moravian missionaries, sought refuge in Philadelphia. The Paxton boys, Scotch-Irish fanatics, armed with hatchets and rifles, marched upon the city, declaring that they would scalp every Moravian Indian in the town. When they approached Germantown, the governor, John Penn, in a panic of fear, fled for protection to the house of Dr. Franklin. He requested Franklin to form an association for the defence of the city. One thousand citizens took arms at Franklin's suggestion. "Governor Penn," he wrote to Lord Kames, "made my house for some time his headquarters, and did every thing by my advice; so that, for about forty-eight hours I was a very great man; as I had been once some years before, in a time of public danger." He rode out, with three other gentlemen, to confer with the Paxtons who had halted seven miles from the city. He convinced them that the barracks

[1] Franklin, "Narrative of the Late Massacres in Lancaster County."
[2] To Lord Kames, June 2, 1765.

in the Northern Liberties where the Indians were sheltered were too strongly intrenched and defended to be taken. They thereupon turned back and restored quiet to the city. The governor, when he had recovered from his fright, experienced humiliation and chagrin at having sought and accepted protection at the hands of Franklin. The populace, fanatically hostile to the Indians, were bitter against Franklin for his defence of the Moravians. The Presbyterians and the Episcopalians openly in the pulpit and in inflammatory pamphlets approved the atrocious acts of the Paxton boys and vindicated the rabble. The governor joined with them and offered a bounty for Indian scalps. The whole weight of the proprietary interest was now exerted to eject Franklin from the Assembly. A series of resolutions was passed by the Assembly, censuring the Proprietaries and petitioning the king to resume the government of the province. During the month of April numerous pamphlets and caricatures appeared, and party rancour was at its height. Franklin's contribution to the fervid literature was "Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs." It was written at tearing speed, and in the night of April 12, 1764, it was furtively thrust beneath house doors or thrown in at the open windows of residences.

When the Assembly met, the chief champions of debate were John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway. The latter, speaking in favour of royal government, carried the day by a large majority. Isaac Norris, the speaker, asked for delay, and immediately after resigned the speakership which he had held for fifteen years, and Franklin was chosen in his room.

Before the next meeting of the Assembly in October, the

annual election was to be held. Dickinson published his speech with an elaborate preface by another hand, Galloway followed with his address and a preface by Franklin.[1]

Never had Philadelphia been so aroused over a political contest. Franklin and Galloway headed the old ticket; Willing and Bryan championed the new. The Moravians and Quakers were at the back of the old ticket; the Dutch and the Presbyterians with a sprinkling of Episcopalians supported the new. A vivid description of the scene upon the day of election is found in a letter from Mr. Pettit of Philadelphia to Joseph Reed: —

"The poll was opened about nine in the morning, the first of October, and the steps so crowded, till between eleven and twelve at night, that at no time a person could get up in less than a quarter of an hour from his entrance at the bottom, for they could go no faster than the whole column moved. About three in the morning, the advocates for the new ticket moved for a close, but (O! fatal mistake!) the old hands kept it open, as they had a reserve of the aged and lame, which could not come in the crowd, and were called up and brought out in chairs and litters, and some who needed no help, between three and six o'clock, about two hundred voters. As both sides took care to have spies all night, the alarm was given to the new ticket men; horsemen and footmen were immediately dispatched to Germantown and elsewhere; and by nine or ten o'clock they began to pour in, so that after the move for a close, seven or eight hundred votes were procured; about five hundred or near it of which were for the new ticket, and they did not close till three in the afternoon, and it took them till one next day to count them off.

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 315.

"The new ticket carried all but Harrison and Antis, and Fox and Hughes came in their room; but it is surprising that from upwards of 3900 votes, they should be so near each other. Mr. Willing and Mr. Bryan were elected Burgesses by a majority of upwards of one hundred votes, though the whole number was but about 1300. Mr. Franklin died like a philosopher. But Mr. Galloway agonized in death, like a mortal deist, who has no hopes of a future existence. The other Counties returned nearly the same members who had served them before, so that the old faction have still considerable majority in the House." [1]

After fourteen years of service Franklin was unseated by a majority of twenty-five in a vote of four thousand. When the Assembly met, his name was proposed as the agent of the House to present their petition to the king. Dickinson ineffectually opposed the nomination with all his eloquence. By a vote of nineteen to eleven Franklin was appointed the agent of the province.[2] The minority prepared a protest which they asked to have inscribed upon the minutes. Franklin printed a reply entitled "Remarks on a Protest." [3]

A loan was authorized in order to raise money for his expenses. Eleven hundred pounds were subscribed. Franklin accepted five hundred, and on November 7, 1764, was escorted by a cavalcade of three hundred citizens to Chester

[1] "Life of Joseph Reed," Vol. I, p. 37.

[2] Extract from the Journals of the House of Representatives for the Province of Pennsylvania. October 26, 1764.

"*Resolved* That Benjamin Franklin, Esq. be, and he is hereby appointed to embark with all convenient expedition for Great Britain, to join with and assist Rich[d] Jackson Esq. our present Agent, in representing, soliciting and transacting the Affairs of this Province for the ensuing Year. A true extract from the Journals. Cha[s] Moore, Clk of Assembly."

[3] See Vol. IV, p. 273.

where he took ship for England. Galloway, Wharton, and James accompanied him in the ship from Chester to Newcastle and went ashore there. "The affectionate leave taken of me by so many friends at Chester was very endearing," Franklin wrote to his daughter from Reedy Island, "God bless them and all Pennsylvania." [1]

Out of the atmosphere of strife, pursued still by cries of passion and furious anger,[2] Franklin slipped into the silence of the sea, and in thirty days reached England, and on the evening of the 10th of December was again in his old lodgings at No. 7, Craven Street. Cadwallader Evans wrote to him from Philadelphia: "A vessel from Ireland to New York brought us the most agreeable news of your arrival in London, which occasioned a great and general joy in Pennsylvania among those whose esteem an honest man would value most. The bells rang on that account till near midnight, and libations were poured out for your health, success, and every other happiness. Even your old friend Hugh Roberts stayed with us till eleven o'clock, which you know was a little out of his common road, and gave us many curious anecdotes within the compass of your forty years' acquaintance." A letter from William Franklin to William Strahan (February 18, 1765) relates the occurrences that followed hard upon Franklin's departure: "We have not heard anything from my Father since he sail'd, but I hope he has been safely landed in England at least two months ago. Since he left us Mr. Allen one of the principal Propr Tools in Pensylvania has employ'd that Miscreant Parson Smith,

[1] To Sarah Bache, November 8, 1764.

[2] "An Answer to Mr. Franklin's Remarks on a Late Protest" appeared just after the ship sailed.

and two or three other Prostitute Writers to asperse his Character, in which they have been very industrious. However, they have lately receiv'd a terrible Shock from Mr. Hughes, one of my Father's Friends, who being incens'd at their base Conduct published an Advertisement sign'd with his Name in which he promised that if Mr. Allen, or any Gent[n] of Character would undertake to justify the Charges brought against Mr. Franklin, he would pay £10 to the Hospital for every one they should prove to the Satisfaction of impartial Persons, provided they would pay £5. for every Falshood he should prove they had alledged against Mr. Franklin. But this Challenge they were afraid to accept, and therefore still kept their Names concealed; but as they thought that something must be done, they endeavoured to turn all Mr. Hughes's Challenge into Ridicule and raise the Laugh against him by an anonymous Answer. He, however, published a Reply with his Name subscribed, in which he has lash'd them very severely for their Baseness. Not being able to answer this, they employ'd one Dove, a Fellow who has some Talents for the lowest kind of Scurrility, to publish a Print with some Verses annex'd, vilifying my Father and some of the most worthy Men of the Province. By way of Revenge some Writer has attack'd them in their own Way, and turn'd all Dove's Verses against Mr. Allen, he being the Head of the Prop[r] Party. This has enraged him excessively as those Verses and the Print had cost him upwards of £25. You will probably have seen, before this reaches you, the Advertisement, Answer and Reply, as they were printed in Mr. Hall's Newspaper, and therefore I send you the enclos'd Pamphlet which is likely to put a Stop to that kind of Writing here for the future, as was the Intention of the Author. The Matter of the Prop[r]

Party against my Father, on Account of his wanting to bring about a Change of Government, is beyond all Bounds. They glory in saying and doing Things to destroy his Character that would make even Devils blush. If he does not succeed I know not what will become of the Province, as there is such a rooted Hatred among a great Majority of the People against the Propr Family. Do let me hear what you think of his Undertaking etc."

CHAPTER IV

THE STAMP ACT

FRANKLIN'S immediate business of presenting the petition of the Assembly of Pennsylvania for the change from proprietary to royal government was for a time postponed by the urgency and excitement occasioned by the threatened passage of the Stamp Act. Mr. Grenville, in the winter of 1763–1764, had "called together the agents of the several colonies and told them that he proposed to draw a revenue from America, and to that end his intention was to levy a stamp duty on the colonies by act of Parliament in the ensuing session, of which he thought it fit that they should be immediately acquainted, that they might have time to consider, and, if any other duty equally productive would be more agreeable to them, they might let him know of it." [1]

The Assembly of Pennsylvania replied that the proposition of taxing them in Parliament was cruel and unjust. "That, by the constitution of the colonies, their business was with the King, in matters of aid; they had nothing to do with

[1] See Vol. VII, p. 118.

any *financier*, nor he with them; nor were the agents the proper channels through which requisitions should be made: it was therefore improper for them to enter in any stipulation, or make any proposition, to Mr. Grenville about laying taxes on their constituents by Parliament, which had really no right at all to tax them, especially as the notice he had sent them did not appear to be by the king's order, and perhaps was without his knowledge; . . . But, all this notwithstanding, they were so far from refusing to grant money, that they resolved to the following purpose; that as they always had, so they always should think it 'their duty to grant aid to the crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them in the usual constitutional manner.'" [1]

A copy of this resolution Franklin took with him to England and presented to Mr. Grenville at an interview which took place on the 2d of February, 1765, between the minister and the four colonial agents. Grenville listened politely to the presentation of the colonial resolution, but at once made it plain to the agents that he was irrevocably committed to the bill, that he would certainly offer it to the House, and that while the ears of the mother country would always be open to every remonstrance expressed in a becoming manner, he hoped that America would preserve moderation and temperance in the expression of objections.

In less than seven weeks the bill had passed almost without opposition through both Houses, and had received the royal assent. The news that the Stamp Act had become law was received in America with universal indignation. The colonies drew together in common protest. The Assemblies passed comminatory resolutions denouncing the tyranny and

[1] See Vol. VII, p. 118.

injustice of the law. They resolved to renounce all importation of British manufactures, until the Act should be repealed, to wear clothes of homespun stuff, and to eat no mutton but to rear all lambs for wool. James Parker, a printer in Burlington, wrote to Franklin (April 25, 1765): "Three days ago Charles Read made me a present of a pair of wooden shoes, as a proper Badge of the slavery the Stamp Act must soon reduce all Printers to, and I shall wear them sometimes for the sake of contemplating on the changes of Fortune's Wheel. I thank God that we are not yet worse than the Peasants of France who have yet the liberty of tilling the ground and eating chestnuts and garlick when they can get them."

Franklin seems to have been ignorant of the unanimity and the violence of the opposition. He doubtless supposed that after some noisy demonstration the country would settle down to a sullen acceptance of the law. Submission to the will of Parliament was the wise and proper course. He wrote to Charles Thomson: "Depend upon it, my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned in interest than myself to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the Tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American Claims of Independence, and all Parties joined in resolving by this Act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since 'tis down, my Friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and Industry will go a great way toward indemnifying us. Idleness and Pride tax with a heavier hand than Kings and Parliaments; if we can get rid of the former we may easily bear the latter."

His confidence in his friend, Joseph Galloway, was great; and upon him he relied for news of the tendencies of parties and public opinion at home. Galloway had written to him that he had nearly finished writing a pamphlet entitled "Political Reflections on the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies respecting her Right of Imposing Taxes on them without their Consent." Something of the kind, he wrote (January 13, 1765), "seems absolutely necessary to allay the violent Temper of the Americans, which has been so worked up as to be ready even for Rebellion itself. But the difficulty will be in getting it Published: The Printers on the Continent having combined together to print every thing inflammatory and nothing that is rational and cool. By which means every thing that is published is ex parte, the people are taught to believe the greatest Absurdities and their Passions are excited to a Degree of Resentment against the Mother Country beyond all Description." In the same letter Galloway also wrote that "a certain Sect of People if I may judge from all their late Conduct seem to look on this as a favourable opportunity of establishing their Republican Principles and of throwing off all Connection with their Mother Country. Many of their Publications justify the Thought. Besides I have other Reasons to think, that they are not only forming a Private Union among themselves from one end of the Continent to the other, but endeavouring also to bring into their Union the Quakers and all other Dissenters if possible. But I hope this will be impossible. In Pennsylvania I am confident it will."

Again Galloway wrote (June 18, 1765): "I cannot describe to you the indefatigable Industry that have been and are constantly taking by the Prop——y Party and Men in Power

here to prevail on the people to give every kind of Opposition to the Execution of this Law. To incense their Minds against the King, Lords and Commons, and to alienate their Affections from the Mother Country. It is no uncommon thing to hear the Judges of the Courts of Justice from the first to the most Inferiour, in the Presence of the attending Populace, to Treat the whole Parliament with the most irreverent Abuse. Scarcely an thing is too Bad to be said of the Ministry, and that worthy Nobleman L^d^. Bute is openly cursed whenever his Name is mentioned — These things are truly alarming to our Friends and the Discreet and Sensible part of the People, as it is Evident they tend with great rapidity to create in the Minds of the Populace and weaker part of mankind a Spirit of Riot and Rebellion, which will be hereafter Quelled with great Difficulty, if ever Quelled at all.

"It is already become Dangerous to Espouse the Conduct of the Parliament in some parts of America, in any Degree, as the Resolves before mentioned prove. And I fear will in a very Short Time become so in this Province. For almost every Pen & Tongue are employd against them, while not a word scarcely is offerd on their side."

Franklin firmly believed that the Stamp Act was, in his oft-repeated phrase, "the mother of mischief," but he counselled caution and moderation. Too stubborn resistance to its provisions would break in pieces the loyalty and allegiance of the colonies. Soon after the Act was passed, the colony agents were called together by William Whateley, the secretary of Mr. Grenville, and informed that it was the wish of the minister "to make the execution of the act as little inconvenient and disagreeable to America as possible; and therefore did not think of sending stamp officers from the country, but

wished to have discreet and reputable persons appointed in each province from among the inhabitants, such as would be acceptable to them; for, as they were to pay the tax, he thought strangers should not have the emolument." [1]

In compliance with this plausible and seemingly candid invitation Franklin named his old friend and stout defender, John Hughes, to be stamp distributor for Pennsylvania. He was soon to learn that he had strangely misread the temper of his countrymen. Thomas Wharton wrote to him from Philadelphia, October 5, 1765, "This day the Letter and the August packet came to hand as well as the Vessell with the stamp'd Paper came up to town, but such confusion and disorder it created as thou never saw with Us, the Inhabitants collected to the State house by beat of Drum, and nothing less than the Destruction of our dear Friend J. Hughes or the Surrender of his Office were the objects, and find'g Matters thus circumstanc'd and he being reduced to a very low State by a severe Indisposition, he at last promis'd that he would resign on second day next."

Hughes was hung in effigy in the Jersey market, and not a magistrate could be found who would order it to be taken down. Threats were freely made to destroy his residence, and he thought it prudent to leave it and to remove his best furniture and papers.

Maledictions were heaped upon Franklin as a betrayer of the trust reposed in him by the people. The Chief Justice asserted in the House that Franklin had planned the Stamp Act, and was the greatest enemy to its repeal. Franklin replied in a letter to his wife (November 9, 1765): "I thank him that he does not charge me (as they [the Presby-

[1] Letter to Rev. Josiah Tucker, February 26, 1774.

terians] do their God) with having planned Adam's fall and the Damnation of Mankind. It might be affirmed with equal Truth and Modesty. He certainly was *intended* for a wise man, for he has the wisest look of any Man I know — and if he would only nod and wink, and could but hold his Tongue he might deceive an Angel. Let us pity and forget him." Franklin's house in Philadelphia was menaced. Mrs. Franklin was entreated to seek safety in Burlington, New Jersey, but she refused to leave. She wrote to her husband, "Cousin Davenport came and told me that more than twenty people had told him it was his duty to be with me. I said I was pleased to receive civility from anybody, so he staid with me some time; towards night I said he should fetch a gun or two, as we had none. I sent to ask my brother to come and bring his gun also, so we turned one room into a magazine; I ordered some sort of defense up stairs, such as I could manage myself."

With his usual thriftiness Franklin had, as soon as he was convinced that the Stamp Act would pass, sent over to David Hall a quantity of unstamped paper in order that his partner might have an advantage over his competitors. He wrote at the same time, "The Stamp Act notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be given it by the American Interest, will pass. I think it will affect the Printers more than anybody, as a Sterling Halfpenny Stamp on every Half Sheet of a Newspaper, and Two Shillings Sterling on every Advertisement, will go near to knock up one Half of both. There is also Fourpence Sterling on every Almanack. I have just sent to Mr. Strahan to forward 100 Reams of the large Half Sheets to you, such as the Chronicle is done on, for present use, and shall, as soon as possible, send you a Pair of Paper Molds for that

size, otherwise the Stamp on the Gazette will cost a Penny Sterling, even when you do not print a Half Sheet." [1] Permission was not granted to have the paper stamped in America, and it was sent back to England at Franklin's cost. He wrote again to his partner (August 9, 1765): "As to the paper sent over, I did it for the best, having at that Time Expectations given me that we might have had it Stamped there, in which case you would have had great Advantage over the other Printers, since if they were not provided with such Paper they must have either printed but a half sheet Common Demi, or paid for two Stamps on each sheet. The Plan was afterwards altered notwithstanding all I could do . . . I would not have you by any means drop the newspaper, as I am sure it will soon recover any present loss, and may be carried on to advantage if you steadily proceed as I proposed in former letters."

Quick as he was to take advantage in the way of business of every varying gale of political fortune, he was occupied in England, to the exclusion of every other subject, in attempting the repeal of the obnoxious law. "In a continual hurry from morning to night," as he told Lord Kames, he attended members of both Houses, informing, consulting, disputing. He wrote frequent letters to *The Public Advertiser*,[2] filled with cogent and practical argument, and with very obvious irony.

To John Hughes he wrote privately that he was by no means sure of repeal. "In the meantime a firm Loyalty to the Crown and faithful Adherence to the Government of this Nation which it is the Safety as well as Honour of the Colonies to be connected with, will always be the wisest

[1] To David Hall, February 14, 1765.

[2] See Vol. IV, pp. 393 *et seq.*

Course for you and I to take, whatever may be the Madness of the Populace or their blind Leaders, who can only bring themselves and Country into Trouble and draw on greater Burthens by Acts of rebellious Tendency." [1]

The stamped paper reached Philadelphia in October, 1765. Upon the approach of the first vessel bearing the detested cargo flags were put at half mast and bells were muffled. Stamped paper wherever found was promptly burned. Housewives resumed their knitting and spinning. Franklin, like many another well-to-do householder, went clothed from head to foot in garments of his wife's making. Not a joint of lamb was to be seen on any table in America, throughout a country of 1500 miles extent. American orders placed with manufacturers in England were cancelled. Merchants engaged in the colonial trade appealed in alarm and dismay to Parliament for aid. Testimony was given at the bar of the House for six weeks. Such evidence, said Burke, was never laid before Parliament. On the second of February Franklin appeared before the Committee of the whole House. The "Examination of Dr. Franklin before the House of Commons" is historically famous and valuable. Searching questions intended to embarrass him were asked by the most astute men of affairs in England. His answers were so informing and illuminating, so indicative of extraordinary eminence of mind and character that Edmund Burke compared the scene to that of a schoolmaster being catechised by his pupils. It is a mistake to suppose that Franklin was entirely unaware before he submitted to interrogation of the character of the questions that would be asked of him. He enjoyed a large acquaintance among the membership of the House. They

[1] To John Hughes, August 9, 1765.

knew perfectly well the nature of his views and the range of his knowledge. They framed questions that were wisely calculated to elicit information the most favourable to the cause he represented. The entire "Examination," as published in 1767 is printed in volume IV, pp. 412–448, and it is unnecessary in this place to quote from that astonishing document. It may be well however to relate that in a memorandum which Franklin gave to a friend who wished to know by whom the questions were put he admitted that many were asked by friends to draw out in answer the substance of what he had before said upon the subject. The following is the memorandum as printed in Walsh's Life of Franklin, contained in *Delaplaine's Repository:*—

"I have numbered the questions," says Dr. Franklin, "for the sake of making references to them.

"*Qu.* 1, is a question of form, asked of every one that is examined. — *Qu.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, were asked by Mr. Hewitt, a member for Coventry, a friend of ours, and were designed to draw out the answers that follow; being the substance of what I had before said to him on the subject, to remove a common prejudice, that the Colonies paid no taxes, and that their governments were supported by burdening the people here; *Qu.* 7, was particularly intended to show by the answer, that Parliament could not properly and equally lay taxes in America, as they could not, by reason of their distance, be acquainted with such circumstances as might make it necessary to spare particular parts. — *Qu.* 8 to 13, asked by Mr. Huske, another friend, to show the impracticability of distributing the Stamps in America. — *Qu.* 14, 15, 16, by one of the late administration, an adversary. — *Qu.* 17 to 26, by Mr. Huske again. His questions about the Germans, and about the

number of people, were intended to make the opposition to the Stamp Act in America appear more formidable. He asked some others here that the Clerk has omitted, particularly one, I remember.

"There had been a considerable party in the House for saving the honour and right of Parliament, by retaining the Act, and yet making it tolerable to America, by reducing it to a stamp on commissions for profitable offices, and on cards and dice. I had, in conversation with many of them, objected to this, as it would require an establishment for the distributors, which would be a great expense, as the stamps would not be sufficient to pay them, and so the odium and contention would be kept up for nothing. The notion of amending, however, still continued, and one of the most active of the members for promoting it told me, he was sure I could, if I would, assist them to amend the Act in such a manner, that America should have little or no objection to it. 'I must confess,' says I, 'I have thought of one amendment; if you will make it, the Act may remain, and yet the Americans will be quieted. It is a very small amendment, too; it is only the change of a single word.' 'Ay,' says he, 'what is that?' 'It is in that clause where it is said, that from and after the first day of November one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, there shall be paid, &c. The amendment I would propose is, for *one* read *two*, and then all the rest of the act may stand as it does. I believe it will give nobody in America any uneasiness. Mr. Huske had heard of this, and, desiring to bring out the same answer in the House, asked me whether I could not propose a small amendment, that would make the act palatable. But, as I thought the answer he wanted too light and ludicrous for the House, I evaded the question.

"*Qu.* 27, 28, 29, I think these were by Mr. Grenville, but I am not certain. — *Qu.* 30, 31, I know not who asked them. — *Qu.* 32 to 35, asked by Mr. Nugent, who was against us. His drift was to establish a notion he had entertained, that the people in America had a crafty mode of discouraging the English trade by heavy taxes on merchants. — *Qu.* 36 to 42, most of these by Mr. Cooper and other friends, with whom I had discoursed, and were intended to bring out such answers as they desired and expected from me. — *Qu.* 43, uncertain by whom. — *Qu.* 44, 45, 46, by Mr. Nugent again, who I suppose intended to infer, that the poor people in America were better able to pay taxes than the poor in England. — *Qu.* 47, 48, 49, by Mr. Prescott, an adversary.

"*Qu.* 50 to 58, by different members, I cannot recollect who. — *Qu.* 59 to 78, chiefly by the former ministry. — *Qu.* 79 to 82, by friends. — *Qu.* 83, by one of the late ministry. — *Qu.* 84, by Mr. Cooper. — *Qu.* 85 to 90, by some of the late ministry. — *Qu.* 91, 92, by Mr. Grenville. — *Qu.* 93 to 98, by some of the late ministry. — *Qu.* 99, 100, by some friend, I think Sir George Saville. — *Qu.* 101 to 106, by several of the late ministry. — *Qu.* 107 to 114, by friends. — *Qu.* 115 to 117, by Mr. A. Bacon. — *Qu.* 118 to 120, by some of the late ministry. — *Qu.* 121, by an adversary. — *Qu.* 122, by a friend. — *Qu.* 123, 124, by Mr. Charles Townshend. — *Qu.* 125, by Mr. Nugent. — *Qu.* 126, by Mr. Grenville. — *Qu.* 127, by one of the late ministry. — *Qu.* 128, by Mr. G. Grenville. — *Qu.* 129, 130, 131, by Mr. Welbore Ellis, late Secretary of War. — *Qu.* 132 to 135, uncertain. — *Qu.* 136 to 142, by some of the late ministry, intending to prove that it operated where no service was done, and therefore it was a tax. — *Qu.* 143, by a friend, I forgot who. — *Qu.* 144, 145, by C. Townshend.

FROM THE MEDAL STRUCK BY ORDER OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO COMMEMORATE THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

— *Qu.* 146 to 151, by some of the late ministry. — *Qu.* 152 to 157, by Mr. Prescott, and others of the same side. — *Qu.* 158 to 162, by Charles Townshend. — *Qu.* 163, 164, by a friend, I think Sir George Saville. — *Qu.* 165, by some friend. — *Qu.* 166, 167, by an adversary. — *Qu.* 168 to 174, by friends.

"Mr. Nugent made a violent speech next day upon this examination, in which he said, 'We have often experienced Austrian ingratitude and yet we assisted Portugal, we experienced Portuguese ingratitude, and yet we assisted America. But what is Austrian ingratitude, what is the ingratitude of Portugal, compared to this of America? We have fought, bled, and ruined ourselves, to conquer for them; and now they come and tell us to our noses, even at the bar of this House, that they were not obliged to us,' &c. But his clamour was very little minded."

Eight days after the Examination closed, or on the 21st of February, a Repealing Bill was introduced into Parliament which successfully passed both Houses and received the royal assent on the eighth of March. The news was received in America with uproarious and extravagant joy. The Governor of Pennsylvania, the Mayor of Philadelphia, and the gentlemen of the city drank the health of "our worthy and faithful agent, Dr. Franklin." The chief feature of the procession in honour of the event was a barge forty feet in length, named Franklin, from which salutes were fired. At the annual election in October opposition was silenced and Franklin was renominated agent, as Cadwallader Evans wrote to him, "without any dirt being thrown at you; — indeed it is so notorious that you exerted all your abilities in favour of the Colonies that none now are so hardy as to insinuate the

contrary — even the great Giant [1] acknowledged in the House you had been of service." Historians have occasionally censured Franklin for not more actively resisting the Stamp Act. Five tracts concerning the bill, printed in London and Paris (1765–69), which belonged to Franklin and in which he wrote copious notes are now in the Lenox Library. A random reading of these abundant and incisive comments is sufficient to demonstrate the whole-hearted aversion with which Franklin regarded "the mother of mischiefs."

One of these tracts is entitled "The Claim of the Colonies to an Exemption from Internal Taxes imposed by Authority of Parliament, examined in a Letter from a Gentleman in London to a friend in America" (London, for W. Johnston, 1765). Franklin wrote upon the title-page "by Knox Esq. agent for Georgia." I quote a few of his marginalia: —

Knox: "The parliament of Great Britain has exercised supreme and uncontrouled jurisdiction, internally and externally over the *properties* and *persons* of the subjects in the colonies. Yet it is said, all these instances do not go to the point of an internal tax that has never been imposed by parliament."

Franklin's note: "Highwaymen on Hounslow Heath have for ages past exercised the same jurisdiction over subjects here; but does that prove they had a Right so to do?"

Knox: "In the Charter granted by the crown to Mr. Penn, the clause of exemption is to this purpose, That the inhabitants of Pennsylvania shall not be subject to any taxes or impositions, other than such as shall be laid by the House of Assembly, or by the parliament of England. Here is an

[1] The Chief Justice — William Allen.

express reservation of the right of parliament to impose taxes upon the people of Pennsylvania; a right which, in the opinion of a gentleman of that country, the only man whose account of North America, it has been said, ought to be regarded, is equivalent to an authority to declare all the white persons in that province, negroes. So little was that gentleman acquainted with the constitution of the very province he was born and resided in."

Franklin: "The Charter says We nor our Successor will impose no Tax, but such as shall be with the Consent of the Proprietary & Assembly or by Act of Parliament. Suppose it had said, We will impose no Tax on you but by Act of the States in Holland, would this have given the States of Holland a right to tax Pensilvania, if Holland had no such right before? A Right that never existed cannot be a Right Reserved. Holland indeed had before a Right of taxing the Country afterwards Pensilvania and therefore such a Right might be given to Holland — If the Parliament had before no such Right it could not be given to them by Words in the Charter."

Knox: "The question then will be, Can the Crown grant an exemption to any *Subject of Great Britain* from the jurisdiction of Parliament?" (p. 8)

Franklin: "The People of G. Britain are subjects of the King. Great Britain is not a sovereign. The Parliament has Power only within the Realm."

Knox: "The Crown, considered as the Executive power, cannot controul the legislature, nor dispense with its acts." (p. 8)

Franklin: "Does this Writer imagine that wherever an Englishman settles he is subject to the Power of Parliament?"

KNOX: "Not five years since did the parliament take away from the fishmongers of London, the most material and beneficial part of their charter, and destroyed the peculiar privileges the crown had granted them; and yet the charter of that company stood upon as good authority as does the charter of any colony in America." (p. 9)

FRANKLIN: "It is not to the Honour of a King, to grant a Charter as King, and afterwards take it away by assenting to an Act of Parliament for that purpose. He may assent to an act of Parliament for putting away his Queen, tho' without Cause; but would this be just?"

Another tract is "Protest against the Bill, to Repeal the American Stamp Act of last Session" (Paris, 1766). It is crowded with marginalia, the suggestions for a formal reply. Thus:—

"We have submitted to your Laws, no Proof of our acknowledging your Power to make them. Rather an Acknowledgement of their Reasonableness or of our own weakness. Post office came as a Matter of Utility. Was aided by the Legislature — Mean to take Advantage of our Ignorance. Children should not be impos'd on: Are not, even by honest shopkeepers. A great and magnificent Nation should disdain to govern by Tricks and Traps, that would disgrace a pettyfogging Attorney."

"The sovereignty of the Crown I understand. The sov^{y} of the British Legislature out of Britain I do not understand."

"The FEAR of being *thought weak* is a Timidity & weakness of the worst sort as it betrays into a Persisting in Errors that may be much more mischievous than the Appearance of Weakness. A great and powerful State like this has no cause

for such Timidity. Acknowledging & correcting an Error shows great Magnanimity. . . . And do your Lordships really think Force & Bloodshed more eligible than rectifying an Error?"

The writer of the tract held that "This law, if properly supported by Government would from the peculiar circumstances attending the disobedience to it, execute itself without bloodshed" (p. 15). Franklin's note thereupon reads: "It has executed itself, that is it has been *felo de se*. Observation in one of the Colonies that there was no occasion to *Execute* their Laws. They died of themselves. A Law universally odious can never be executed in any Government."

Another tract liberally annotated with Franklin's marginalia is "The true Constitutional Means for putting an End to the Disputes between Great Britain and the American Colonies" (London, 1769). "The directive influence of the British state," says the writer "remains with the British legislature, who are the only proper judges of what concerns the general welfare of the whole empire" (p. 14). Franklin replies: "The British state is only the island of Great Britain. The British Legislature are undoubtedly the only proper judges of what concerns the welfare of that state: But the Irish Legislature are the proper Judges of what concerns the Irish state and the American Legislatures of what concerns the American States respectively. By the whole Empire does this writer mean all the King's dominions? If so the British Parliament should also govern the Isles of Jersey & Guernsey, Hanover etc. But it is not so." The author proceeds, "It is plain that the Americans could have no reason to complain of being exposed to a disproportionate tax ["It is only plain

that you know nothing of the matter." — F.]. Several of the colonists of the rank of *good livers* have often been seen to pay the price of a negro with gold. ["Was not the gold first purchased by the Produce of the Land, obtained by hard labour? Does gold drop from the Clouds of Virginia into the laps of the indolent?" — F.] As instances of Virginian luxury I have been assured that there are few families there without some plate; ["Their very purchasing Plate and other superfluities from England is one means of disabling them from paying Taxes to England. Would you have it both in meal and malt?" — F.] and that at some entertainments the attendants have appeared almost as numerous as the guests ["It has been a great Folly in the Americans to entertain English Gentlemen with a splendid hospitality ill suited to their Circumstances; by which they excited no other grateful Sentiments in their guests than that of a desire to tax the Landlord." — F.]."

Another copiously annotated pamphlet is entitled "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Disputes between the British Colonies in America and their Mother Country" (London, 1769).

Extract. "That the late war was chiefly kindled and carried on, on your account, can scarcely be denied."

Observation. It is denied.

"By the steps they seem to take to shake off our sovereignty."

Our sovereignty again! This writer, like the Genoese queens of Corsica, deems himself a sprig of royalty!

"For, as soon as they are no longer dependent upon England, they may be assured they will immediately become dependent upon France."

We are assured of the contrary. Weak states, that are

poor, are as safe as great ones, that are rich. They are not objects of envy. The trade, that may be carried on with them, makes them objects of friendship. The smallest states may have great allies; and the mutual jealousies of great nations contribute to their security.

"And whatever reasons there might exist to dispose them in our favour in preference to the French; yet, how far these would operate, no one can pretend to say."

Then be careful not to use them ill. It is a better reason for using them kindly. That alone can retain their friendship. Your sovereignty will be of no use, if the people hate you. Keeping them in obedience will cost you more than your profits from them amount to.

"It is not, indeed, for their jealousy of their rights and liberties, but for their riotous and seditious manner of asserting them."

Do you Englishmen then pretend to censure the colonies for riots? Look at home!!! I have seen, within a year, riots in the country about corn; riots about elections; riots about work-houses; riots of colliers; riots of weavers; riots of coal-heavers; riots of sawyers; riots of sailors; riots of Wilkesites; riots of government chairmen; riots of smugglers, in which custom-house officers and excisemen have been murdered, the King's armed vessels and troops fired at, &c. In America, if one mob rises, and breaks a few windows, or tars and feathers a single rascally informer, it is called REBELLION; troops and fleets must be sent, and military execution talked of as the decentest thing in the world. Here, indeed, one would think riots part of the mode of government.

"And if she had not thought proper to centre almost all her care, as she has done, upon making the late peace, in pro-

curing them a safe establishment, and to sacrifice to it, in a manner, every other object, she might, at least, expect from them a more decent and dutiful demeanour."

In the last war, America kept up twenty-five thousand men at her own cost for five years, and spent many millions. Her troops were in all battles, all service. Thousands of her youth fell a sacrifice. The crown gained an immense extent of territory, and a great number of new subjects. Britain gained a new market for her manufactures, and recovered and secured the old one among the Indians, which the French had interrupted and annihilated. But what did the Americans gain except that *safe establishment*, which they are now so taunted with? Lands were divided among none of them. The very fishery, which they fought to obtain, they are now restrained in. The plunder of the Havana was not for them. And this very *safe establishment* they might as well have had by treaty with the French, their neighbours, who would probably have been easily made and continued their friends, if it had not been for their connexion with Britain.

CHAPTER V

THE SCENE IN THE COCKPIT

IN the brief calm that followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, Franklin enjoyed a visit to the Continent. His friend Sir John Pringle, physician to the Queen, intended a journey to Pyrmont to drink the waters. They set forth together, June 15, 1766, and returned August 13, 1766. Information concerning this tour is very meagre. No letters exist written at that period by Franklin; nor did he keep any notes of his

travels. John D. Michaelis, the Orientalist, was presented to him at Göttingen by a student named Münchhausen. Michaelis ventured a prophecy that the colonies would one day release themselves from England. Franklin replied that the Americans had too much love for their mother country, to which Michaelis said, "I believe it, but almighty interest would soon outweigh that love or extinguish it altogether." Another scholar who profited at the same time and place by Franklin's conversation was Achenwall, who in the following year published in the *Hanoverische Magazine* "Some Observations on North America and the British Colonies, from verbal information furnished by Mr. B. Franklin." In conclusion Achenwall said, "I doubt not that other men of learning in this country have used their acquaintance with this honoured man as well as I. Could they be persuaded to give the public their noteworthy conversation with him, it would be doing the public a great benefit." [1]

A few days before Franklin left England he asked leave of the Pennsylvania Assembly to return home in the spring. His request appears to have been ignored, and on the first day of the new session he was again appointed as the agent of the colony. Georgia passed an ordinance, April 11, 1768, authorizing him to act as agent for that colony at a salary of one hundred pounds a year, his service to begin June 1, 1768; [2] and the House of Representatives of New Jersey, November

[1] These observations were reprinted in 1769 at Frankfurt and Stuttgart, and in 1777 at Helmstedt. See also Johan Pütters' "Selbstbiographie," Göttingen, 1793, Vol. II, p. 490, for a brief account of Franklin's visit.

[2] The ordinance was reënacted, February 27, 1770. The dissolution of the Assembly prevented the ordinance from going through its regular forms. Georgia formally recorded a vote of thanks to Franklin for his conduct of the affairs of the commonwealth, March 13, 1774.

8, 1769, unanimously chose him their representative in London at a like salary.[1]

For a twelvemonth after his return from Germany Franklin was busied with questions of paper money for the colonies,[2] and the creation of "barrier states" by which he hoped to provide permanent defences for the Atlantic settlements and at the same time to send a stream of immigration into the western country.[3] In the summer of 1767 certain physical symptoms warned him to slacken his efforts. He was socially indulgent and physically indolent. He had already had several attacks of gout. To keep his health he found it necessary to take occasional journeys into strange countries. A slight but recurrent giddiness decided him to cross the Channel. In company with Sir John Pringle he started for France on the twenty-eighth of August, 1767, and remained there until the eighth of October.[4] The travellers were presented to the King, and Franklin wrote a familiar description of the *Grand Couvert*, where the royal family supped in public, to his friend Mary Stevenson, qualifying his admiration for the foreign court by saying, "I would not have you think me so well pleased with this King and Queen, as to have a whit less regard than I used to have for ours. No Frenchman shall go beyond me in thinking my own King and Queen the very best in the world, and the most amiable."[5]

[1] The appointment was continued during the time of Franklin's residence in London.

[2] See Vol. V, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[4] At that time the Dover machine set out every morning at five o'clock from the White Bear, Piccadilly, the Golden Cross, or the Bear at Westminster Bridge. It reached Dover the same night. Fare (inside) twenty shillings, fourteen pounds of baggage allowed free, and all above that weight charged for at three halfpence a pound. The passage to Calais cost ten shillings and sixpence. Franklin stopped at the Calais Inn, — "La Table Royale."

[5] See letter to Mary Stevenson, September 14, 1767.

Immediately upon his return to London news arrived of the retaliatory measures adopted in Boston upon the recent revenue acts of Parliament. In Pennsylvania and New England the people were again resolved to import no more British manufactures, but to establish such industries at home. The demand for British goods was constantly diminishing. Lynn, Massachusetts, made yearly eighty thousand pairs of women's shoes better and cheaper than any made abroad, and not alone supplied the towns of New England but sent large quantities to the Southern Colonies and the West Indies. Humphry Marshall wrote to Franklin expressing a hope that the American people would not forget the cause of their late resentment but would continue to manufacture the articles necessary for their use. The newspapers of England were in full cry against America. Franklin wrote to his son, "Colonel Onslow told me at court last Sunday, that I could not conceive how much the friends of America were run upon and hurt by them, and how much the Grenvillians triumphed."[1]

To correct the English view of the agitation in America he wrote "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768."[2] When John Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters" reached England, Franklin was so favourably impressed by the common sense, sane argument, and perspicuous manner with which his old adversary had stated the case for the Americans that he immediately published the work in London with a preface of his own writing.

To add to the uncertainties of the time numerous political changes took place. Lord Hillsborough replaced Lord

[1] To William Franklin, December 10, 1767.
[2] See Vol. V, p. 78.

Shelburne and was made Secretary of State for America, a new and distinct department. Conway resigned and Lord Weymouth succeeded him. Lord Northington retired from the Presidency of the Council and Lord Gower assumed the duties of that office. Lord Sandwich became postmaster-general, and several of the reactionaries, members of the House of Bedford, followed him into office. A confidential letter written by Franklin to his son, July 2, 1768 (Vol. V, pp. 142–48), gives a graphic account of the political manœuvres and the wary walking that he was obliged to do to avoid the pitfalls prepared for him. His partnership with David Hall being dissolved, Franklin was deprived of one thousand pounds a year, an income which he had enjoyed for eighteen years. He was now to some extent dependent upon his official salary. He knew that the ministry were criticising his long stay in England and asking what service he was rendering to justify his continuance as deputy postmaster in America. The Duke of Grafton and Lord North held before him the allurement of a permanent position in England as under secretary to the newly created American office. He wrote to his son, "For my own thoughts I must tell you that though I did not think fit to decline any favour so great a man expressed an inclination to do me, because at court if one shows an unwillingness to be obliged, it is often construed as a mark of mental hostility, and one makes an enemy; yet so great is my inclination to be at home, and at rest, that I shall not be sorry if this business falls through, and I am suffered to retire with my old post; nor indeed very sorry if they take that from me too on account of my zeal for America, in which some of my friends have hinted to me that I have been too open. . . . If Mr. Grenville comes into power

[illegible] in my [illegible] respecting America. I must [illegible] [illegible] of any thing that may seem to put me in his power, because I recommend a [illegible] between the two countries."

Nothing came of the great wishes of the Duke of Grafton, and Franklin refused to be drawn by the ill-tempered abuse heaped on him in the newspapers. He knew that his enemies were seeking to provoke him to resign. "In this," he said to his sister, "they are not likely to succeed, I being deficient in that Christian virtue of resignation. If they would have my office, they must take it."

There are abundant evidences in Franklin's correspondence that he was apprehensive of a disaster impending over England. Lawless riot and confusion were about him in 1768. He looked upon mobs patrolling the streets at noon, roaring for Wilkes and Liberty, coal heavers and porters pulling down the houses of coal merchants who refused to give them more wages, sawyers destroying sawmills, soldiers firing upon the mob and killing men, women, and children. All respect of law and government seemed lost. A great black cloud seemed to Franklin to be coming on, ready to burst in a general tempest. "What the event will be God only knows. But some punishment seems preparing for a people, who are ungratefully abusing the best constitution, and the best King, any nation was ever blest with, intent on nothing but luxury, licentiousness, power, places, pensions, and plunder."[1] The dread of some terrible calamity lurking in the future, and the haunting fear of national separation caused him to counsel temperance and forbearance in America, and to try by all his logical persuasion to justify and commend his countrymen in England.

[1] To John Ross, May 14, 1768.

His writings were always conciliatory, irenic. He sought by every means in his power to splinter the broken joint between the colonies and old England. From the first he was loyal to the English government. He assured Lord Chatham that "having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking and conversing freely with them, I never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for a separation, or hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America."

The British empire he likened, with homely comparison, to a handsome China vase, — 'twere a great pity to break it; and he was convinced that the dismemberment of the empire would mean ruin to all its parts. When it was urged that in time the colonies by their growth would become the dominant half, he answered, "Which is best, to have a total separation, or a change of the seat of government?"[1] Here he seems occasionally to have caught a glimpse of an historic vision of which Lord Rosebery in dream has seen the phantom retrospect. Is it fanciful, asks that eloquent statesman, to dwell for a moment on what might have happened if the elder Pitt had not left the House of Commons when he became first minister? "He would have prevented or suppressed the reckless budget of Charles Townshend, have induced George III to listen to reason, introduced representatives from America into the Imperial Parliament, and preserved the thirteen American colonies to the British crown. The reform bill would probably have been passed much earlier, for the new

[1] Bishop Tucker said it was well known that Franklin wanted to transfer the seat of government to America.

blood of America would have burst the old vessels of the Constitution. And when, at last, the Americans became the majority, the seat of Empire would perhaps have been moved solemnly across the Atlantic, and Britain have become the historical shrine and European outpost of the world empire. What an extraordinary revolution it would have been had it been accomplished. The most sublime transference of power in the history of mankind. The greatest sovereign in the greatest fleet in the universe; ministers, government, Parliament, departing solemnly for the other hemisphere; not as in the case of the Portuguese sovereigns emigrating to Brazil under the spur of necessity, but under the vigorous embrace of the younger world."[1]

Some such vision wavered at times before the mind of Franklin as he reflected upon the discontented politics of the troubled years before the Revolution. But after years of labour he could only say, "I do not find that I have gained any point in either country, except that of rendering myself suspected by my impartiality; in England of being too much an American, and in America of being too much an Englishman." He was entirely in accord with Burke and Chatham, touching the unity and integrity of the empire and with regard to the unjust taxation of America. To those who regretted the repeal of the Stamp Act he said: "I can only judge of others by myself. I have some little property in America. I will freely give nineteen shillings in the pound to defend the right of giving or refusing the other shilling; and after all, if I cannot defend that right, I can retire cheerfully with my little family into the boundless woods of America

[1] Lord Rosebery's Rectorial Address at the University of Glasgow.

which are sure to afford freedom and subsistence to any man who can bait a hook or pull a trigger."

After the Boston massacres,[1] Franklin was chosen by the Assembly of Massachusetts, October 24, 1770, to be their agent in London, "to appear for the House at the Court of Great Britain" and to sustain their interests, "before his Majesty in Council, or in either House of Parliament, or before any public board." Thomas Cushing, the Speaker of the Assembly, transmitted to him the certificate of his appointment. Franklin replied that he esteemed the appointment the greater honour as it was unsolicited on his part, and that he would be very happy if in that capacity he could render the country any acceptable service. Lord Hillsborough was now secretary, a man whose character according to Franklin was "conceit, wrong-headedness, obstinacy and passion." A few weeks after receiving his credentials Franklin called upon Hillsborough when an interview occurred of which he made a faithful record in his journal and sent a copy to Rev. Samuel Cooper, his confidential correspondent in Boston. The secretary's speech was tart, and his manner testy. The conversation is given in full in Vol. V, pp. 298–304, and it is unnecessary to repeat here more than the calm and satisfied comment of Franklin upon the interview. Hillsborough having refused to recognize Franklin as

[1] "At a Meeting of the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston duly qualified & legally warned in public Town Meeting assembled at Faneuil Hall, on Thursday the 22d. day of March, A.D. 1770.

"VOTED that the Hon: James Bowdoin Esq. Dr: Joseph Warren & Samuel Pemberton Esq. a Committee appointed on the 13th Instant to make Representations of the late horrid Massacre in Boston by the Soldiery, be desired to transmit by the Packet to Benjamin Franklyn Esq. LL.D. a printed Copy of such Representations.

"Att.

"WILLIAM COOPER Town Clerk."

the duly accredited representative of Massachusetts, Franklin withdrew, saying, "It is I believe of no great importance whether the appointment is acknowledged or not, for I have not the least conception that an agent can *at present* be of any use to any of the colonies. I shall, therefore, give your Lordship no further trouble." Hillsborough took great offence at these last words and characterized them as "rude and abusive." They were equivalent, he told one of Franklin's friends, to telling him to his face that neither favour nor justice during his administration could be expected by the colonies. "I find he did not mistake me," said Franklin.

This new Hillsborough doctrine that no agent should be received except such as had been appointed by a regular act of the Assembly, approved by the governor, placed additional barriers between the colonies and the government of England. The agent could no longer transact the business of the people, save by the consent of a governor who might be opposed to the interests of the people. Moreover, it gave to the English minister the power, through his instructions to the royal governor, to prevent the appointment of any agents who might not be his pliant tools. Hillsborough stubbornly persisted in his interpretation of the colonial relations and obtained a vote of the Board of Trade forbidding an agent who had been otherwise elected to appear before that body. In reference to this condition Franklin addressed the following open letter to Dennis de Berdt, the English agent for the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay.

"SIR,

"In the *Gazetteer* of Friday, Aug. 26, you have been so obliging as to inform us, that the Report insinuating that the Earl of Hillsborough had *neglected* to deliver a Petition from

the Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay to his Majesty, was groundless, his Lordship not having even seen the Petition at the time of such Report.

"We are very subject to be impos'd on by Reports especially such as convey any Reflection upon Ministers, an Order of Men of whom we have not generally the best Opinion. It is therefore kind to us as well as to them, to set us right when we are misled. And as such Reports are generally varied according to the Ignorance or Malice of the Reporters, it would be well if all their Variations could be answered with a *Clearness* equal to yours in that above mentioned.

"Now since it must be as much in your Power, we hope and trust you will be as ready to refute this, 'That his Lordship having had from Governor Barnard an Account of the Purport of the Assembly's Petition, refused to receive it from you on a Distinction newly started, to wit, that you were not a regularly appointed Agent, being authoris'd only *by the Assembly*, to transact their Business here, the Governor not having consented to your Appointment.' We would just observe that this state of the Report is more probable than the other, it being as unlikely that his Lordship should *neglect* to present a Petition he had once received, as it is that you would *neglect* to offer it to him.

"We are Sir, Yours, etc.

"THE PUBLICK.

"P. S. Excuse us if we add, that tho' we have no right to ask what the Reasons were, that, in your Letters of March last, you gave to the Assembly, for not proceeding with their Petition; yet, as in their Message to the Governor of June the 30th when they had probably received those Letters, they say,

'it had been revealed there that the late Provincial Applications for Redress of Grievances had been somehow *strangely obstructed.*' And as the Assembly of *Maryland*, in their Message to their Governor, hint at 'an Attempt in some of his Majesty's Ministers to prevent the Supplications of *America* from reaching the Royal Ear'; we own it would be extreamly agreable to us to be rightly informed in this important Affair: And if you are, as we believe you are, more desirous of obliging *the Publick*, and serving your Constituents, than of screening a Minister, we doubt not you will give us *all reasonable* Satisfaction."[1]

Franklin had now intrusted to him the affairs of four colonies, but he could do little more than attempt to mould public opinion by letters to the newspapers, and to keep the colonists informed of the changes and tendencies of English parties and politics. He wrote solemnly to the Committee of Correspondence in Massachusetts (May 15, 1771), "I think one may clearly see the seeds sown of a total disunion of the two countries, though, as yet, that event may be at a considerable distance." He foresaw that the British nation and government would become odious, and the subjection to it intolerable; that war would ensue, ending in the probable ruin of Britain by the loss of her colonies. "But as the whole empire must, in either case, be greatly weakened, I cannot but wish to see much patience and the utmost discretion in our general conduct, that the fatal period may be postponed, and that, whenever this catastrophe shall happen, it may appear to all mankind, that the fault has not been ours."[2] With such gloomy forebodings Franklin lived in 1771. Great

[1] From the rough draft in A. P. S. [2] See Vol. V, p. 318.

empires, he reminded Lord Chatham, have always crumbled at their extremities, and the apprehension of this dissolution was now settling in his mind into conviction.

In the spring of 1771, he visited the manufacturing towns of England, and called upon Priestley at Leeds, Dr. Percival at Manchester, Erasmus Darwin at Litchfield, and Dr. Brownrigg in Cumberland. In July and August he spent three weeks at Twyford in Hampshire, at Chilbolton, the residence of Jonathan Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was during this sojourn that he began, in a room that was ever after known by the family as Franklin's room, the famous "Autobiography." Provided with letters of introduction from "the good Bishop," he set out August 20, 1771, with his old friend, Richard Jackson, to visit Ireland. He was received in that country "by both parties, the courtiers and the patriots; the latter treating him with particular respect." Entertained by "gentlemen, extremely opulent, living in the highest affluence and magnificence," he was chiefly impressed by the poor tenants living in sordid wretchedness in dirty hovels of mud and straw, and clothed only in rags. "Had I never been in the American colonies," he wrote to Joshua Babcock,[1] "but were to form my judgment of civil society by what I have lately seen, I should never advise a nation of savages to admit of civilization; for I assure you, that, in the possession and enjoyment of the various comforts of life, compared to these people, every Indian is a gentleman, and the effect of this kind of civil society seems to be, the depressing multitudes below the savage state, that a few may be raised above it."

Franklin met accidentally with Lord Hillsborough at the lord-lieutenant's in Dublin. The secretary was surpris-

[1] January 13, 1772.

ingly civil and pressed Franklin and his companions to call upon him at Hillsborough. Franklin complied with the invitation, and spent four days at his country-house. Hillsborough entertained him with great civility and said that he had always been of opinion that America ought not to be restrained in manufacturing anything she could manufacture to advantage. He ordered his eldest son, Lord Kilwarling, to drive him a round of forty miles that he might see the country, the seats, and manufactures. His attentions were inexplicable to Franklin, but on the supposition that he apprehended an approaching storm, and was desirous of lessening beforehand the number of enemies he had so imprudently created.

It was Franklin's desire to see some of the principal Irish patriots; he therefore stayed in Dublin until the opening of the Irish Parliament. He found them disposed to be friends of America in which he endeavoured to confirm them. Richard Jackson being a member of the English Parliament, was admitted, in accordance with custom, to sit in the House among the members. Franklin was about to proceed to the gallery when the Speaker acquainted the House that an American gentleman of distinguished character and merit, a member of some of the Parliaments of that country, was desirous of being present at the debates of the House; that he supposed the standing rule of the House for admitting members of English Parliaments would apply also to American Assemblies, but, as this was the first instance he would ask for the directions of the House. "On the question, the House gave a loud, unanimous *Ay;* when two members came to me without the bar, led me in between them, and placed me honourably and commodiously."[1]

[1] To William Franklin, January 30, 1772.

Seven weeks Franklin stayed in Ireland, and then proceeded to Scotland for a further sojourn of four weeks. He spent five days with Lord Kames at Blair Drummond, near Stirling, two or three days at Glasgow, two days at Carron Iron Works, and the rest of the month in Edinburgh, lodging with David Hume. His old acquaintances, Sir Alexander Dick, Drs. Robertson, Cullen, Black, Ferguson, Russel, and others renewed the civilities with which they had received him on his first joyous visit to the "Athens of the North."

Returning into England, he turned aside at Preston, in Lancashire, to meet his son-in-law, Richard Bache, whom he had not before seen. He was favourably impressed with Mr. Bache's "agreeable behaviour," and pleased that his mother and sisters were "genteel and agreeable people."[1]

The three months of travelling in countries new to him, and of social diversion among friends old and dear to him had been delightfully refreshing, but when once more in London, in January, 1772, he grew restless and impatient under the enforced inactivity of his position. He grew homesick, and apprehensive of the approach of some of the infirmities of age. Death seemed not far distant, and some important business affairs beckoned him back to the dear country from which he had so long been in a state of exile. His spirits rose again with the resignation from office of Lord Hillsborough, "the omniscient and infallible minister," and the succession to the secretaryship of Lord Dartmouth who had always expressed great regard for Franklin and friendship for America. In the getting rid of Hillsborough Franklin played a leading part. In 1766 a company had been formed, in which William Franklin, Joseph Galloway, Colonel

[1] Sarah Franklin was married to Richard Bache, October 29, 1767.

Croghan, Samuel Wharton, and Sir William Johnson were interested, to purchase lands of the French west of the Alleghany Mountains and to establish a new colony there. The plan of purchasing the lands was soon abandoned, and the company, consisting of twelve Americans and certain Englishmen "of character and fortune," recommended by Dr. Franklin, applied to the crown for a tract of land between the Alleghanies and the Ohio River. At Franklin's request Thomas Walpole, a wealthy financier, became the head of the enterprise, and the territory was, in consequence, known as "Walpole's Grant." Franklin urged it as one means of saving expense in supporting the outposts, enumerated among its advantages the furnishing provisions cheaper to the garrisons, securing the country, retaining the trade, and "raising a strength there, which on occasion of a future war might easily be poured down the Mississippi upon the lower country, and into the Bay of Mexico, to be used against Cuba or Mexico itself." The petition was referred to the Board of Trade where it lay inactive for five years. Hillsborough was president of the Board of Trade and was secretly opposed to the grant. To Mr. Walpole and Dr. Franklin when they asked for two million five hundred thousand acres, he said, "Ask for enough to make a province," whereupon Franklin calmly asked for twenty-three million acres. The report of the Board of Trade, drawn up by Lord Hillsborough,[1] opposed the grant on the ground that "if a vast territory be granted to any set of gentlemen who really mean to people it, and actually do so, it must draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain, and I apprehend they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people and who

[1] See Vol. V, pp. 465 *et seq.*

will set up for themselves; and they will soon have manufactures of their own; that they will neither take supplies from the mother country nor from the provinces at the back of which they are settled; that being at a distance from the seat of government, courts and magistrates, they will be out of the reach and control of law and government; that it will become a receptacle and kind of asylum for offenders who will flee from justice to such new country or colony." Franklin prepared an able and complete reply,[1] exposing the fallacies and follies in Hillsborough's report, and repeating the advantages that would flow alike to the colonies and to Great Britain. His answer was presented to the Privy Council, and the petition was approved. Hillsborough, mortified and offended by the action of the Council, tendered his resignation.

Lord Dartmouth succeeded Lord Hillsborough. He was a friend of Dr. Franklin, and it was believed that Franklin was instrumental in obtaining his appointment. At his first interview Franklin handed to Lord Dartmouth a petition from the Assembly of Massachusetts. Governor Hutchinson had been receiving his salary from the crown, an innovation indignantly resented by Massachusetts, and he had justified the measure in his speeches to the House, and had asserted the authority of Parliament over the colonies. The Assembly passed resolutions of censure and petitioned the king to correct these grievances. Dartmouth advised Franklin not to present the petition, that it could not possibly be productive of good, and that it would only offend his Majesty. Franklin asked if his Lordship had received any late advices from Boston. Dartmouth replied, "None since the governor's

[1] See Vol. V, pp. 479–527.

second speech. But what difficulties that gentleman has brought us all into by his imprudence! Though I suppose he meant well; yet what can now be done? It is impossible that Parliament can suffer such a declaration of the General Assembly, asserting its independency, to pass unnoticed." Franklin replied that in his judgement it would be better to take no notice of it. "Acts of Parliament are still submitted to there. No force is used to obstruct their execution. . . . Violent measures against the province will not change the opinion of the people. Force could do no good." It was Dartmouth's opinion that force would not be thought of, but perhaps an act might be passed to lay the colonies under some inconveniences till they rescinded that declaration. Could they not withdraw it? Franklin replied that such an act would only put the colonies on some method of incommoding England till the act were repealed, "and so we shall go on injuring and provoking each other, instead of cultivating that good will and harmony so necessary to the general welfare."

"He said that might be, and he was sensible our divisions must weaken the whole; 'for we are yet *one empire*,' said he, 'whatever may be the sentiments of the Massachusetts Assembly'; but he did not see how that could be avoided, He wondered, as the dispute was now of public notoriety. Parliament had not already called for the dispatches; and he thought he could not omit much longer the communicating them, however unwilling he was to do it, from his apprehension of the consequences. 'But what,' his Lordship was pleased to say, 'if you were in my place, would or could you do? Would you hazard the being called to account in some future session of Par-

liament, for keeping back the communication of dispatches of such importance?'

"I said, 'his Lordship could best judge what, in his situation, was fittest for him to do; I could only give my poor opinion with regard to Parliament, that, supposing the dispatches laid before them, they would act most prudently in ordering them to lie on the table, and take no further notice of them. For were I as much an Englishman as I am an American, and ever so desirous of establishing the authority of Parliament, I protest to your Lordship I cannot conceive of a single step the Parliament can take to increase it, that will not tend to diminish it; and after abundance of mischief they must finally lose it.'" The remainder of this very interesting interview is reported in full by Franklin in his letter to Thomas Cushing, May 6, 1773.

We are now approaching the critical event in the life of Franklin that rendered impossible the further maintenance of his mediatorial position between England and the colonies. It was the famous affair of the Hutchinson letters, one of the commonplaces of American history. Certain letters written by Thomas Hutchinson, royal governor of Massachusetts, to friends in England, in which he recommended the sending to America of troops and men of war, and advised the government that in the colonies "there must be an abridgement of what are called English liberties," fell into the hands of Franklin. How he became possessed of them remains a mystery. The source was undivulged by him. In the elaborate "Tract relative to the Affair of Hutchinson's Letters,"[1] which he wrote in 1774, Franklin said that in the latter part of 1772 he was speaking with some resentment to

[1] See Vol. VI, pp. 258–289.

"a gentleman of character and distinction," about the sending of troops to Boston and their behaviour to the people there, and expressing the infinite uneasiness it gave him to learn that it was considered there as a national measure, and as a proof that Britain had no longer a parental regard for the colonists. The gentleman assured him that this offensive measure and all the other grievances did not originate with the ministry or even in England, but that they were "projected, proposed to Administration, solicited and obtained by some of the most respectable among the Americans themselves, as necessary measures for the welfare of that country." Franklin doubted the probability of such a statement, whereupon the gentleman undertook to convince him, and through him his countrymen. Some days later he called upon Franklin and produced a budget of letters from Governor Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver, and others. The address of the letters had been removed, but they were said to have been written to William Whately, a recently deceased member of Parliament, and were evidently intended to influence Mr. Grenville and his party.[1] Six of the letters were written by Hutchinson, four by Oliver, and the other three by Robert Auchmuty, Charles Paxton, and Nathaniel Rogers. They narrated events in Boston from June, 1768, to October, 1769. They described the people as factious and incendiary, recommended that the "officers of the crown be made, in some measure, independent of the people," that the people be punished and that the penalties be of another kind than mere penal duties, and that "there must be an abridgement of what are called English liberties." The billeting of troops in Boston and the depen-

[1] William Whately had been private secretary to Mr. Grenville and later had been appointed by him secretary to the lords of the treasury.

dence of the Governor and judges upon the British government for their salaries were plainly recommended and solicited by the officials of Massachusetts.

The holder of the letters refused to permit Franklin to make copies of them, but as it was his wish to convince the Americans as he had convinced their Agent, he, at last, allowed Franklin to send the original letters to Boston on condition that they should not be printed, that no copies should be taken of them, that they should be shown only to a few of the leading people of the government, and that they should be carefully returned. The first reference to the transmission of the letters is in a communication from Franklin to Thomas Cushing, dated December 2, 1772: "On this occasion I think it fit to acquaint you, that there has fallen into my hands part of a correspondence that I have every reason to believe laid the foundation of most if not all, our present grievances . . . in confidence of your preserving inviolably my engagement, I send you enclosed the original letters, to obviate every pretence of unfairness in copying, interpolation, or omission." Cushing showed the letters to Drs. Chauncy, Cooper, and Winthrop, to the Committee of Correspondence of the Massachusetts Assembly, and to a few other leading citizens. John Adams carried them on his circuit and showed them to whom he pleased. Franklin approved of the publicity given to them and wrote: "I have permission to let the originals remain with you as long as you may think it of any use. . . . I am allowed to say that they may be shown and read to whom and as many as you think proper."

The Assembly met in June and listened to the reading of the letters. They resolved to petition the king to remove Hutchinson and Oliver from office. The petition was sent

to Franklin and reached him about the time that copies of a pamphlet containing the letters arrived in England. They were published in the London newspapers and caused much inquiry as to the source from which they had been derived. Thomas Whately, the brother of the deceased recipient of the letters, fell under suspicion; he himself believed that John Temple, formerly governor of New Hampshire, who had taken some of his own letters from among the Whately papers, had at the same time abstracted this American correspondence. A writer in the *Public Advertiser* (December 8, 1772) charged Temple with having taken the letters dishonourably, and quoted Thomas Whately, well known as a London banker, as his authority. Temple immediately sought Whately, denied any knowledge of the letters, and demanded a public exoneration from him. The following day Whately published in the *Advertiser* a statement to the effect that Mr. Temple had asked permission to take back certain of his letters which existed among William Whately's papers. Permission had at once been granted. "He, and he only, had ever had access to any of the letters of my brother's correspondents in America." . . . "Mr. Temple assured me, in terms the most precise that (except some letters from himself and his brother, which he had from me by my permission) he had not taken a single letter, or an extract from any, I had communicated to him. I saw him twice afterwards on the same subject, and the same assurances were invariably repeated by him, and confirmed by him in the most solemn manner." The statement was not at all satisfactory to Temple. It seemed to him "strongly to corroborate the anonymous charge." Whately had omitted to state "what was wholly essential, that he did not know the

letters in question were among those he put into my hands, and that none of those he had intrusted to me appeared to be missing." Thus given, as he thought, the lie direct, Temple challenged Whately. The challenge was borne by Ralph Izard of South Carolina, but as Whately in accepting it declined to name a second, the principals went alone to the field of honour in the morning of December 11, 1773. Pistol shots were fired without effect, and the duel was then fought with swords, when Whately was twice severely wounded. Neither contestant was satisfied, the bad feeling continued and found expression in wild stories in the newspapers, and it was currently reported that as soon as Whately recovered from his wounds a second encounter would take place. Franklin had remained silent at the time of the duel, for his lips were sealed by the gentleman from whom he had received the letters and who had given him what Franklin deemed an important reason for desiring that his name should be concealed. When, however, he learned that the duel was to be repeated, he thought it time to interpose, and therefore wrote to the printer of the *Public Advertiser* (December 25, 1773), declaring that he alone was the person who obtained and transmitted the letters in question to Boston. They could not be communicated by Mr. Thomas Whately or by Mr. Temple, for they were never in the possession of either gentleman.

Some of his friends applauded his courage, others feared that he was imprudent and that the administration would resent his frank avowal of sending the letters. He read in one of the London papers that he was "one of the most determined enemies of the welfare and prosperity of Great Britain." He entertained little fear of serious consequences to himself,

and occupied himself seriously with the preparation for his departure to America to settle some business with the post-office there. The king, it was supposed, would consider in his cabinet the Massachusetts petition for the recall of Governor Hutchinson. Suddenly, as a bolt from the blue, he received notice from the Clerk of the Council that the Lords of the Committee for Plantation Affairs would meet at the Cockpit on Tuesday, January 11, 1774, at noon, to consider the petition referred to them by his Majesty, and that his presence would be required. It was already Saturday. The time for consideration was brief. He sent for Arthur Lee, then a student of law in London, who had been chosen by the legislature of Massachusetts to succeed Franklin in the event of his absence or death. Lee was at Bath. Sunday morning he called upon Bollan, a barrister and London agent of the Council of Massachusetts. He found that Bollan had also received notice to attend the meeting at the Cockpit. It was Bollan's opinion that counsel should not be employed. Lee had not yet been called to the bar. Distinguished lawyers were fearful of offending the court and thereby jeopardizing their prospects of promotion. Bollan would move to be heard in behalf of the Council of the province, and take occasion to support the petition himself. Very late on Monday afternoon Franklin learned that Israel Mauduit, agent for the governor and lieutenant-governor, had asked and obtained leave to be heard by counsel, and had retained Alexander Wedderburn, the solicitor-general.

At the meeting on the following day the petition was read, and Franklin was called upon to speak in support of it. In accordance with their concerted plan, he stated that Mr. Bollan would speak to the petition. Objection was imme-

diately made that Bollan was not a party to the petition. Several times he attempted to speak, but after repeated interruptions he was ordered to desist. Franklin then said that with the petition of the House of Representatives he had received their resolutions which preceded it, and a copy of the letters on which those resolutions were founded. These he offered in support of the petition. The Resolutions were read. Then occurred the following inquisition:—

"*Mr. Wedderburn.* The Address mentions certain papers; I could wish to be informed what are those papers.

"*Dr. Franklin.* They are the letters of Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver.

"*Court.* [*Lord Chief Justice De Grey.*] Have you brought them?

"*Dr. Franklin.* No; but here are attested copies.

"*Court.* Do you mean to found a charge upon them? If you do, you must produce the letters.

"*Dr. Franklin.* These copies are attested by several gentlemen at Boston, and a notary public.

"*Mr. Wedderburn.* My Lord, we shall not take advantage of any imperfection in the proof. We admit that the letters are Mr. Hutchinson's and Mr. Oliver's handwriting; reserving to ourselves the right of inquiring how they were obtained.

"*Dr. Franklin.* I did not expect that counsel would have been employed on this occasion.

"*Court.* Had you not notice sent you of Mr. Mauduit's having petitioned to be heard by counsel, on behalf of the governor and lieutenant-governor?

"*Dr. Franklin.* I did receive such notice; but I thought this had been a matter of *politics*, not of law, and have not brought my counsel.

"*Court.* Where a charge is brought, the parties have a right to be heard by counsel or not, as they choose.

"*Mr. Mauduit.* My Lords, I am not a native of that country, as these gentlemen are. I know well Dr. Franklin's abilities, and wish to put the defence of my friends upon a parity with the attack. He will not therefore wonder that I choose to appear before your Lordships with the assistance of counsel. My friends, in their letters to me, have desired, (if any proceedings, as they say, should be had upon this Address) that they may have a hearing in their own justification, that their innocence may be fully cleared, and their honour vindicated; and have made provision accordingly. I do not think myself at liberty, therefore, to give up the assistance of my counsel, in defending them against this unjust accusation.

"*Court.* Dr. Franklin may have the assistance of counsel, or go on without it, as he shall choose.

"*Dr. Franklin.* I desire to have counsel.

"*Court.* What time do you want?

"*Dr. Franklin.* Three weeks.

"*Ordered,* that the further proceedings be on Saturday, 29th instant."

Wedderburn. — "Although, to save your lordship's time, I have admitted these to be true copies of the original letters, I give notice that when the matter comes on again, I shall exercise the right to ask certain questions as how the Assembly came into possession of them, through what hands, and by what means they were procured."

Court — "Certainly; and to whom they were directed; for the perfect understanding of the passages may depend on that and other such circumstances. We can receive no

charge against a man founded on letters directed to nobody, and perhaps received by nobody. The laws of this country have no such practice."

Franklin proceeded at once to prepare his case. Several friends advised him to retain John Dunning, formerly solicitor-general and afterwards Lord Ashburton, the cleverest as he was the homeliest lawyer practising at the English bar. Franklin would have waited to consult with Arthur Lee, supposing that he might prefer his friend Sergeant Glynn, famous for his defence of John Wilkes. He was anxious, however, to learn Dunning's opinion as to his own conduct if questions should be asked of him concerning the history of the letters. Upon this point the great lawyer was clear that Franklin was not obliged to answer such questions against his will. He promised to attend the meeting and object to their putting such questions.

Until the 29th of the month the papers continued to denounce Franklin as an incendiary, who should be dismissed from office and sent to Newgate. Mr. Lee, coming up from Bath, undertook to engage Sergeant Glynn who was "in a fit of the gout" and unable to attend. The counsel retained were Dunning and John Lee, afterwards solicitor-general under Fox.

The little apartment in the Cockpit was crowded upon the 29th of January. Thirty-five members of the Privy Council attended — a number, Burke said, without precedent in his memory. The Lord President Gower sat at the head of the table. Among the distinguished personages were Lord North, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Shelburne, Edmund Burke, and the Americans — Arthur Lee, Ralph Izard, and Dr. Bancroft. Among the interested onlookers

were Jeremy Bentham and Joseph Priestley. The latter, who had got through the crowd that thronged the anteroom, upon the arm of Edmund Burke, said, in his account of the scene contributed to the *Monthly Magazine* in 1802, that Franklin stood in a corner of the room, without the least apparent emotion. Dr. Bancroft gave a slightly different account in a communication to William Temple Franklin:—

"Dr. Franklin did not 'stand in a corner of the room,' he stood close to the fireplace, on that side which was at the right hand of those, who were looking toward the fire; in the front of which, though at some distance, the members of the Privy Council were seated at a table. I obtained a place on the opposite side of the fireplace, a little further from the fire; but Dr. Franklin's face was directed towards me, and I had a full, uninterrupted view of it, and his person, during the whole time in which Mr. Wedderburn spoke. The Doctor was dressed in a full dress suit of spotted Manchester velvet, and stood *conspicuously erect*, without the smallest movement of any part of his body. The muscles of his face had been previously composed, so as to afford a placid, tranquil expression of countenance, and he did not suffer the slightest alteration of it to appear during the continuance of the speech, in which he was so harshly and improperly treated. In short, to quote the words which he employed concerning himself on another occasion, he kept his 'countenance as immovable as if his features had been made of *wood*.' "

The hearing began with the reading of Franklin's letter to Lord Dartmouth,[1] enclosing the petition, then the petition, the resolutions of the Assembly, and lastly the letters. Franklin's counsel, according to his opinion, "acquitted themselves

[1] August 21, 1773.

very handsomely." Mr. Dunning stated that no cause had been instituted, and no prosecution was intended. The Assembly appealed to the wisdom and goodness of his Majesty; it was a favour they were asking, not justice that they were demanding. "As the Assembly had no impeachment to make, so they had no evidence to offer." Burke was impressed with the excellence of Dunning's address: his points were "well and ably put," Burke told Lord Rockingham. In his reply Wedderburn rehearsed what he called a history of the province for the previous ten years, bestowing liberal abuse upon the Assembly and the people of Massachusetts. Then turning upon Franklin he assailed him with ribald invective, so gross that large passages were omitted by the friends of Wedderburn when the address was published.

It was a scene, as Lecky has said, well suited to the brush of an historical painter. For more than an hour Franklin stood, tranquilly, silently, before his malignant adversary, his coolness and apathy in striking contrast with the violence and clamour of the Scotch declaimer, while grave men clapped their hands in boundless amused delight at the baiting of the American.

"The letters could not have come to Dr. Franklin," said Wedderburn, "by fair means. The writers did not give them to him; nor yet did the deceased correspondent, who from our intimacy would otherwise have told me of it. Nothing, then, will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he stole them from the person who stole them. This argument is irrefragable.

"I hope, my Lords, you will mark and brand the man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind.

Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred, in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics but religion." "He has forfeited all the respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye; they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escritoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called *a man of letters; homo* TRIUM[1] *literarum!*

"But he not only took away the letters from one brother; but kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror." [*Here he read the letter dated December 25th, 1773; Dr. Franklin being all the time present.*] "Amidst these tragical events, of one person nearly murdered, of another answerable for the issue, of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests, the fate of America in suspense; here is a man, who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare it only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's *Revenge.*

> "'Know then 'twas — I;
> I forged the letter, I disposed the picture;
> I hated, I despised, and I destroy.'

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed by poetic fiction only, to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?"

Jeremy Bentham said of the orator's manner: "I was not more astonished at the brilliancy of his lightning, than astounded by the thunder that accompanied it. As he stood

[1] That is, FUR, or *thief.*

the cushion lay on the council table before him; his station was between the seats of two of the members, on the side of the right hand of the Lord President. I would not for double the greatest fee the orator could on that occasion have received, been in the place of that cushion; the ear was stunned at every blow . . . the table groaned under the assault." Dr. Priestley said: "At the sallies of his sarcastic wit, all the members of the Council, the President himself not excepted, frequently laughed outright. No person belonging to the Council behaved with decent gravity, except Lord North, who, coming late, took his stand behind the chair opposite to me." Burke and Shelburne were outraged by the violence and vulgarity of the attack: the former spoke of it as "beyond all bounds and decency," and the latter wrote to Lord Chatham of Wedderburn's "most scurrilous invective" and of "the indecency of his behaviour."

In leaving the room Franklin pressed Priestley's hand in a way that indicated much feeling. The next day (Sunday) they breakfasted together in Craven Street, when Franklin remarked upon the fortifying power of a good conscience, "for that, if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted, as one of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it."

On Monday morning Franklin received a letter from the secretary of the post-office, laconically informing him that the postmaster-general had "found it necessary" to dismiss him from the office of deputy postmaster-general in America. The expression, said Franklin, was well chosen, "for in truth they were *under a necessity* of doing it; it was not their own inclination."

However we may poise the cause in the scales of history, and however we may decide upon the merits of Franklin's part in the affair of the letters, it must always be remembered as the critical incident which converted Franklin into a stubborn opponent of the British government, and changed the American sentiment toward him from lukewarm admiration to inflamed respect, enthusiasm, and affection.

It was the one cherished hatred of his life, and how deep the poisoned shaft had sunk into his soul we may perhaps infer from the well-authenticated story that four years later, when the treaty of alliance with France was signed, Franklin dressed himself for that day's historic achievement in the same Manchester cloak of velvet which he last wore when he stood under the pitiless storm of Wedderburn's vituperation.[1]

It has often been said that the story of the cloak is a legend, and that it has no foundation in fact. The only error is in supposing that the suit was worn when the Treaty of Peace was signed. It was first told by Priestley, and verified by Dr. Bancroft. The following is the version given by the latter: "It had been intended that these treaties [commerce and eventual alliance with France] should be signed on the evening of Thursday, the 5th of February; and when Dr. Franklin had dressed himself for the day, I observed that he wore the suit in question; which I thought the more remarkable, as it had been laid aside for many months. This I noticed to Mr. Deane; and soon after, when a messen-

[1] Horace Walpole was the author of a once famous epigram upon Wedderburn and Franklin: —

> "Sarcastic Sawney, swol'n with spite and prate
> On silent Franklin poured his venal hate.
> The calm philosopher, without reply,
> Withdrew, and gave his country liberty."

ger came from Versailles, with a letter from Mr. Gerard the French plenipotentiary, stating that he was so unwell, from a cold, that he wished to defer coming to Paris to sign the treaties, until the next evening, I said to Mr. Deane, 'Let us see whether the Doctor will wear the same suit of clothes to-morrow; if he does, I shall suspect that he is influenced by a recollection of the treatment which he received at the Cockpit.' The morrow came, and the same clothes were again worn, and the treaties signed. After which, these clothes were laid aside, and, so far as my knowledge extends, never worn afterwards. I once intimated to Dr. Franklin the suspicion, which his wearing these clothes on that occasion had excited in my mind, when he smiled, without telling me whether it was well or ill founded. I have heard him sometimes say, that he was not insensible to injuries, but that he never put himself to any trouble or inconvenience to retaliate."[1]

CHAPTER VI

PLANS OF CONCILIATION

THE tone of Franklin's comment upon English politics is noticeably changed after the scene in the Cockpit. He wrote to Joseph Galloway, deploring any approach to a closer union between the countries. He drew vivid contrasts be-

[1] In the diary of Dr. Benjamin Rush, the manuscript of which is in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia, occurs the report of a conversation between Silas Deane and Franklin as they went together to the signing of the treaty of alliance. "Why do you wear that old coat to-day?" asked Deane. "To give it its revenge!" replied Franklin.

tween the "extreme corruption prevalent among all orders of men in the old rotten state" of England, and the "glorious public virtue so predominant in the rising country" of America. He expressed a fear that England would drag the colonies after them in all the plundering wars which their desperate circumstances, injustice, and rapacity might prompt them to undertake. He wrote: "Here numberless and needless places, enormous salaries, pensions, perquisites, bribes, groundless quarrels, foolish expeditions, false accounts or no accounts, contracts and jobs, devour all revenue, and produce continual necessity in the midst of natural plenty. I apprehend, therefore, that to unite us intimately will only be to corrupt and poison us also. It seems like Mezentius's coupling and binding together the dead and the living,—

"'Tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentes,
Complexu in misero, longâ sic morte necabat.'

"However, I would try anything, and bear anything that can be borne with safety to our just liberties, rather than engage in a war with such relations, unless compelled to it by dire necessity in our own defence." [1]

Josiah Quincy dined with Franklin, March 3, 1775, and had three hours' conversation with him, the substance of which he relates in his Diary. Franklin dissuaded from France and Spain and was emphatic that no step of great consequence, unless upon a sudden emergency, should be taken without advice of the Continental Congress. "Explicitly, and in so many words, said that New England alone could hold out for ages against this country, and if they were firm and united, in *seven years* would conquer them. Said he had the best intelligence that the manufacturers were

[1] To Joseph Galloway, February 25, 1775.

feeling bitterly, and loudly complaining of the loss of the American trade. Let your adherence be to the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, a year from next December or to the next session of Parliament, and the day is won."

The same conviction is expressed in the following letter to his son: —

TO GOVERNOR FRANKLIN[1]

"London, June 30th, 1774.

"I hear a non-importation agreement is intended. If it is general, and the Americans agree in it, the present Ministry will certainly be knocked up, and their Act repealed; otherwise they and their measures will be continued, and the Stamp Act revived.

"The Scotch in resentment of the Parliament's refusing to lay an additional duty on foreign linen, or to give a bonus upon theirs, are entering into like agreements with regard to cloth and hats from England, and are setting up large manufactures of both, which will be an additional distress to manufacturers here.

"I should be sorry if Ireland is included in your agreement, because that country is much our friend, and the want of flax-seed may distress them exceedingly, but your merchants can best judge. It can only be meant against England, to ensure a change of measures, and not to hurt Ireland, with whom we have no quarrel.

"The Bill for laying duties on spirits and liquors imported into Quebec appoints three-pence a gallon in what is from

[1] From the original in the possession of the Earl of Leicester. Published in "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham" (Albemarle), II, 299.

Britain, six-pence on what comes from the West Indies, and twelve-pence on all from any part of North America, or any *foreign country;* so that after all our expense in helping to conquer Canada for this Crown, we are put on the footing of foreigners, in our trade with it. Will this, in a future war, encourage us to assist in more conquests?"

While the great drama of politics was developing about him, and the action was hastening on perhaps to a stupendous catastrophe, Franklin still found abundant means to satisfy his craving for social life. He made acquaintances readily, and men of various occupations and professions were eager to know him and to profit by his astonishing stores of information and the alertness and versatility of his mind. He attended the literary evenings of Mrs. Montagu, and met Garrick at Lord Shelburne's country seat. He knew Benjamin West, Horatio Gates, Charles Lee, John Hawkesworth, Burke, Hume, Kames, Sir John Pringle, Dr. Fothergill, and Dr. Canton. He dined frequently with certain scientists and liberal clergymen, who constituted what he was wont to call "the club of honest Whigs," at the London Coffee House in Ludgate Hill. With Richard Price he became acquainted at St. Paul's Coffee House; Dr. Price was then preaching every Sunday morning at Hackney, at the meeting in the Gravel Pit field near the Church, and in the afternoon at three o'clock at Newington Green, whither Franklin and Sir John Pringle occasionally came to hear him. Another favorite dining place on Thursdays was at the Dog Tavern on Garlick Hill. Occasionally he sat down with the Society of Friends to the Cause of Liberty, at Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, where, upon the 4th of

November, the Society drank to the landing of King William and to the Glorious Revolution.

At home in Craven Street his friends kept him well provided with good cheer. His wife sent him barrels of Newtown pippins, casks of hickory nuts, and Indian meal, cranberries, and dried fish. William Franklin sent a keg of dried apples, Mrs. Holker supplied him with apple butter from Rouen, English friends sent him turkeys from Norwich, and a French acquaintance (O'Gorman, brother-in-law of La Chevalière d'Éon) sent him a hogshead of the "right sort" of Burgundy. Craven Street overflowed with dainties. He shook the superflux to his friends, accompanied sometimes by graceful and witty notes like the following: "Dr. Franklin presents his respectful compliments to Lord Bathurst, with some American nuts; and to Lady Bathurst, with some American apples; which he prays they will accept as a tribute from that country, small indeed, but *voluntary*."

The sons of American parents who came to him with letters of recommendation had the benefit of his counsel, always carefully and conscientiously given; and if they were seeking education in Europe he assisted them in entering school or college. Young men who were going to Edinburgh to study were recommended by him to lodgings in the house of the blind poet Thomas Blacklock, who had accommodations for eight young gentlemen. He obtained learned degrees at Edinburgh for deserving scholars in America, recommended candidates for the navy and East India Company, and for afternoon preacherships at the Foundling Hospital. He provided the Library Company of Philadelphia with valuable books, and added to his own fast-growing collection with liberal purchases from Pankouke in Paris.

The Society for Promoting the Culture of Silk in Pennsylvania, organized as the "Filature," committed their adventure to the hands of Franklin, and sent him of the first year's product a quantity to be presented to the queen and to the Penn family. In the second year (1772) they sent him forty-five pounds of silk, saying, "We are sensible how much the promoters of the culture of silk are obliged to Dr. Franklin for the trouble he has taken in the business."

He interested himself in many of the infant industries of the colonies, and always encouraged incipient manufactures. Calico printing and glass blowing engaged his attention; and when Samuel Noble, a tanner, in Philadelphia, sent him (November, 1771) a pair of soles ("to keep thy feet warm"), with a history of the leather from the time it was the hide of a steer on Carpenter's Island, Franklin replied after two years with a letter which shows at once his appreciation of American industry and his prompt and generous assistance of young artisans.

TO SAMUEL NOBLE [1] (P. C.)

London, Feby 4th 1774

SIR,

The Bearer, William Brown being bred to the Tanning Business, is desirous of trying his Fortune in America. He is well recommended to me as a sober honest and diligent young Man, — If it may not be inconvenient to you to afford him Employment as a Journeyman, I shall consider it as a Favour to me. —

The Soles you were so kind as to send me have now been

[1] I am indebted for this letter to the present owner, Mr. Franklin Noble of Brooklyn, a great-grandson of Samuel Noble.

in Wear two Years, in common with others of this Country the best I could get being in Double Channel Pumps of half a Guinea a Pair; and yours appear to excel them in Firmness and Duration, — I show'd them the other Day to Capt. Falconer, who can tell you that they are still very good.

With much Esteem, I am, Sir
Your obliged Friend & humⁱ Serv't.
B. FRANKLIN.

At this time he was in continual correspondence with learned men, and students of all the professions.

Doctors and lawyers solicited his judgment upon medical and legal cases. I find in an English legal work, dated 1775, the opinion of Dr. Franklin touching that perpetually debated question of the legality of a marriage with a deceased wife's sister. The book is entitled, "The Legal Degrees of Marriage stated and considered, in a series of Letters to a Friend. By John Alleyne,[1] Esq.; Barrister at Law. The second Edition, corrected and enlarged; with an Appendix containing Letters from several Divines and others. London: Printed for J. Almon, in Piccadilly, 1775." Franklin's letter to the author appears in the Appendix (pp. 1–2): —

Craven Street, 15th Oct. 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I have never heard upon what principles of policy the law was made, prohibiting the marriage of a man with his wife's sister, nor have I ever been able to conjecture any political inconvenience that might have been found in such marriages, or to conceive of any moral turpitude in them. I have been personally acquainted with the parties in two instances, both

[1] See Vol. V, p. 156.

of which were happy matches, the second wives proving most affectionate mothers-in-law to their sisters' children; which indeed, is so naturally to be expected, that it seems to me, wherever there are children by the preceding match, if any law were to be made relating to such marriages, it should rather be to enjoin than to forbid them; the reason being rather stronger than that given for the Jewish law, which enjoined the widow to marry the brother of a former husband where there were no children, viz. that children might be produced who should bear the name of the deceased brother; it being more apparently necessary to take care of the education of a sister's children already existing, than to procure the existence of children merely that they might keep up the name of a brother.

With great esteem, I am, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

I am indebted to Dr. S. Weir Mitchell for permitting me to publish a letter addressed to Dr. John Hawkesworth, the editor of "The Adventurer," which illustrates the intelligent interest he took in the art of medicine.

TO DR JOHN HAWKESWORTH (P. C.)

LONDON May 8. 1772.

DEAR SIR:

Dining abroad yesterday, and not coming home till 12 at night I did not get your letter in time to answer it by the return of the post as you desired.

Dr. M°Bride of Dublin some time since discovered that putrid flesh could not only be rendered sweet, but its firmness restored by immersing it in Fix'd Air; which is air that

has made part of the solid substance of bodies, and is separated and set at liberty from them in their dissolution, or fermentation, or effervescence with other bodies. This air is not fit for breathing; flame is extinguished by it; and, taken into the lungs it instantly extinguishes animal life, but taken into the stomach is deemed salutary, as in Pyrmont water which contains much of it. Dr Priestley discovered that two fourths of the air, one produced by suffering dead mice to putrefy under glass, the other by the effervescence of chalk and water with a small quantity of acid or vitriol, in either of which airs living mice being put would instantly die, yet the two being mixed both become good common air, and mice breathe in it freely. From his own and Dr M^c^Bride's Experiment (who thought Fix'd Air would prevent or cure the sea scurvy) he was persuaded it might be of use in mortification. But of this there has been only a single experiment. A Physician of his acquaintance at Leeds wrote to him while he was lately in town that a person dying as was thought of a putrid fever with all the symptoms of a mortification in the bowels had been suddenly relieved and recovered by the injection of Fix'd Air as a clyster. These are all our present premises upon which you can judge as well as I how far one may expect the same Fix'd Air will be of service applied to a cancer, but, as you ask my opinion, as the case might be other wise desperate and we know of no danger in the trial I should be for trying it. I would first syringe the sore strongly with warm water impregnated with Fix'd Air so as to cleanse well the part. Then I would apply to it a succession of glasses filled with Fix'd Air, each glass to remain till the sore had absorbed the Fix'd Air contained in it. It would require a long description to explain the readiest

methods of obtaining the air, applying it, and impregnating the water with it, and perhaps I would not make myself clearly understood. The best way is to show it which I will do either here or at Bromley if you desire it.

Being ever my dear friend
Yours most affectionately
B FRANKLIN.

On the 20th of March, 1775, Franklin sailed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Captain Osborne, for Philadelphia. During the voyage he wrote an account of negotiations in London for effecting a reconciliation between Great Britain and the American colonies.[1] It is from this document that we derive the knowledge that we have of the relations existing between Franklin and Lord Chatham. In 1757 Franklin had sought the acquaintance of William Pitt, but that great statesman was then busied with foreign affairs of such magnitude that he could spare no time for the consideration of the petty particulars of a remote English province, and Franklin was obliged to admire him at a distance and to regard him as an *inaccessible*. He was flattered occasionally upon hearing from Lord Shelburne that Chatham had mentioned him as a person of respectable character, but they never met until August, 1774, when Lord Stanhope called for him and carried him to Hayes.[2]

He expressed to Chatham a hope that if his Lordship, with the other great and wise men of the British nation, would unite and exert themselves, the empire might yet be rescued out of the mangling hands of the present set of blundering

[1] See Vol. VI, pp. 318–399.

[2] Franklin was stopping at the time with Mr. Sargent, M.P., at Halsted, in Kent; Lord Stanhope was at Chevining.

ministers; and that the union and harmony between Britain and her colonies, so necessary to the welfare of both, might be restored. Chatham was particularly pleased to hear Franklin's emphatic assurance that America did not aim at independence, and they parted mutually satisfied. In December they met again, when Franklin had important news from America to impart to him. Congress had agreed upon a solemn petition to the king, "that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties, to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, which, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained." The colonial agents were instructed to present the petition to the king, and to publish it in the newspapers.[1]

[1] How grave the colonists felt the situation to be may be inferred from the following letter from Charles Thomson to Franklin: —

"November 1, 1774

"Sir,

"I have the honour to forward to you, the Address to the King and an Address to the people of Great Britain & these colonies. — I was in hopes by this opportunity to have sent you the Journal of the proceedings of the congress which is in the press.

"I hope administration will see and be convinced that it is not a little faction, but the whole body of American freeholders from Nova Scotia to Georgia that now complain & apply for redress; and who, I am sure, will resist rather than submit.

"When I look back and consider the warm affection which the Colonies had for Great Britain till the present reign, the untainted loyalty, unshaken fidelity & cheerful confidence that universally prevailed, till that time, and then view the present heartburnings, jealousies, gloom & despair, I am ready to ask, with the poet, 'Are there not some chosen thunders in the stores of heaven armed with uncommon wrath to blast those Men,' who by their cursed schemes

The Massachusetts agents (Mr. Lee and Mr. Bollan) alone responded to Franklin's invitation to join him in presenting the petition. They called upon Lord Dartmouth and left it for his consideration. After some days they were notified that the secretary had laid the petition before the king, who was pleased to receive it graciously and would submit it to the consideration of Parliament. It came before Parliament along with a multitude of miscellaneous documents but without any word of recommendation. The agents requested in vain to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Commons. When at last it was read, it was assailed with bitter denunciation and contempt. Before the vote was taken, Franklin went to Hayes (December 26) to obtain Lord Chatham's sentiments upon the petition. The great statesman received him with "an affectionate kind of respect that from so great a man was extremely engaging." Congress, he said, had acted with so much temper, moderation, and wisdom, that he thought it the most honourable assembly of statesmen since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans in the most virtuous times.

On the 19th of January (1775), Franklin received a card from Lord Stanhope, acquainting him that Lord Chatham desired his presence in the House of Lords on the following day, when it was his intention to make an important motion.

At two o'clock on the morrow, Chatham met Franklin in the lobby, and saying, "I am sure your being present at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine," led him to the entrance of the House. The great speech of

of policy are dragging friend & brothers into the horrors of civil War & involving their country in ruin.

"Even yet the wound may be healed, & peace and love restored; but we are on the very edge of the precipice."

that day has been preserved but in meagre outline. The conclusion of it is famous: "If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say, that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, that they will make the crown *not worth his wearing*. I will not say, that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce, that the kingdom is undone." The motion, which was that General Gage should remove his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston, was rejected.

Chatham continued to elaborate a plan of conciliation and again sent for Franklin to consult with him on the 27th of January. The imperfect and incomplete Plan was read and discussed. Two days later Chatham called upon Franklin in Craven Street, and left with him a copy of the Plan desiring him to reflect upon it, and to communicate to him such remarks upon it as should occur to him.

A copy of the Plan exists in six folio pages in Franklin's handwriting, in the Library of Congress.[1] At the end is a note in Franklin's hand: "The above Plan was offered by the Earl of Chatham to the House of Lords on Wednesday Feb. 1, 1775 under the title of A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles of America, and for asserting the supreme Legislative Authority and Superintending Power of Great Britain over the Colonies; but being oppos'd by the Ministry it was rejected by a great Majority the Members being for rejecting, 61 and for retaining 32, so it was not suffered to lie on the Table for further Consideration. Yet, when it is considered that in the Majority were all the Ministerial Lords with all the Scotch Lords and the Bishops who usually vote as the Ministers bid them, the Sense of the House, that is,

[1] See Force, 4th Series, I, 1504.

the independent Part of it, does not seem to have been generally against the Bill." [1]

It was upon this occasion that Lord Chatham paid his extraordinary compliment to Franklin. Lord Sandwich had said that he could never believe the Plan to be the production of any British peer, and looking toward Franklin who was leaning on the bar, said he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies that country had ever known. Chatham, in reply, assumed all responsibility for the document, but he made no scruple to declare that if he were the first minister and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one, he was pleased to say, "whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honour, not to the English nation only, but to human nature!"

[1] Among the Franklin papers (A. P. S.) is the following brief note from Pitt to Thomas Walpole: —

"Lord Pitt presents his Compliments to Mr Walpole and, being at Hayes did not receive the honor of his obliging note, till Yesterday. Lord Chatham desires him to present his Compliments to Mr Walpole, and is much honor'd by his thinking of his health, which is better, tho' he still continues very much out of order. Lord Chatham also desires me to express how sensibly he feels the Contents of the *Extract* communicated to him; he is deeply touched by such a remembrance, and truly honor'd by so Authentick and Respectable a Testimony to his good Intentions.

"HAYES Thursday March 6th"

The note is endorsed as follows: —

"Note received by Mr. Walpole in answ^r^ to one from him communicating an Extract of a Letter from me respecting Lord Chatham's Motion for Conciliatory Measures made Feb. 1775. — B. Franklin."

It is unnecessary here to enlarge upon the secret negotiations carried on from October, 1774, to March, 1775, between Franklin and the agents of the Ministry. The facts have been clearly and minutely recorded by Franklin (see Vol. VI, pp. 318–399). The chief mediators between the colonists and the crown were David Barclay and Dr. John Fothergill, members of the Society of Friends. Mrs. Howe, sister of Lord Howe, with whom Franklin played chess and discussed mathematical problems, brought Franklin and her brother together, and again Franklin did all in his power to reach some common ground of agreement. Howe urged him to form some plan of reconciliation that would be acceptable to the Ministry, and assured him that if he could accomplish such pacification, he "might with reason expect any reward in the power of government to bestow." This, said Franklin, was to him "what the French vulgarly call *spitting in the soup*."

Franklin drew up a plan, the sane propositions of which could not be accepted by a demented government, and agreed to accompany Lord Howe as his private secretary if his Lordship should be appointed commissioner to America. He even guaranteed without any assurance that he should be reimbursed, or his conduct approved, that the tea thrown overboard in Boston harbour should be paid for if justice should be granted to the colonies, — "an engagement," he said, "in which I must have risked my whole fortune."

Franklin reached Philadelphia, May 5, 1775. While he was upon the seas, the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord occurred. The land was in tumult. The morning after his arrival he was unanimously chosen one of the deputies of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to attend the Continental

Congress.[1] Changes, too, the years had brought for Franklin's family. His new house, built nine years before but during his residence in London, was ready for his occupation, but the mistress of the house was dead. Deborah Franklin died of paralysis in December, 1774. In the winter of 1768–1769, she had suffered "a partial palsy in the tongue and a sudden loss of memory." She rallied from the shock though William Franklin wrote to his father that her memory appeared to be impaired. In 1771 he reported that "her memory has failed her much and she becomes every day more and more unfit to be left alone."

In May of that year, Franklin wrote to her a letter which defines the financial arrangements that he made for his family during his absence.

TO DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, May 1, 1771

MY DEAR CHILD

I wrote to you per Capt. Osborne, and have since received yours of Jan. 14, per Cousin Benezet, and of March 7, per the Packet.

The Bill on Sir Alexander Grant for 30£ which you so kindly sent me inclos'd, came safe to hand. I am obliged too to Mr. Hall for enabling you on a Pinch to buy it. But I am sorry you had so much Trouble about it; and the more so, as it seems to have occasioned some Disgust in you against Messrs Foxcrofts for not supplying you with Money to pay for it. That you may not be offended with your Neighbours without Cause; I must acquaint you with what it seems you did not know, that I had limited them in their

[1] Thomas Willing and James Wilson were chosen at the same time.

Payments to you, to the Sum of Thirty Pounds per Month, for the sake of our more easily settling, and to prevent Mistakes. This making 360 Pounds a Year, I thought, as you have no House Rent to pay yourself, and receive the Rents of 7 or 8 Houses besides, might be sufficient for the Maintenance of your Family. I judged such a Limitation the more necessary, because you never have sent me any Account of your Expences, and think yourself ill-used if I desire it; and because I know you were not very attentive to Money-matters in your best Days, and I apprehend that your Memory is too much impair'd for the Management of unlimited Sums, without Danger of injuring the future Fortune of your Daughter and Grandson. If out of more than 500£ a Year, you could have sav'd enough to buy those Bills it might have been well to continue purchasing them. But I do not like your going about among my Friends to borrow Money for that purpose, especially as it is not at all necessary. And therefore I once more request that you would decline buying them for the future. And I hope you will no longer take it amiss of Messrs Foxcrofts that they did not supply you. If what you receive is really insufficient for your support satisfy me by Accounts that it is so, and I shall order more.

I am much pleased with the little Histories you give me of your fine Boy, which are confirmed by all that have seen him. I hope he will be spared and continue the same Pleasure and Comfort to you, and that I shall ere long partake with you in it. My Love to him, and to his Papa and Mama. Mrs. Stevenson too is just made very happy by her Daughter's being safely delivered of a Son: the Mother and Child both well. Present my affectionate Respects to Mrs. Mont-

gomery with Thanks for her most obliging Present. It makes a nice Bag for my Ivory Chessmen, I am, as ever,

Your affectionate Husband

B. FRANKLIN.

I venture to add to this letter an example of Mrs. Franklin's epistolary style. Although written the year before her death, it is neither better nor worse than the other laboured products of her unwilling and unlettered pen.

FROM DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

October ye 29, 1773

MY DEAR CHILD: — I have bin verey much distrest a boute you as I did not aney letter nor one word from you nor did I hear one word from oney bodey that you wrote to so I muste submit and inde [?] to submit to what I am to bair I did write by Capt Folkner to you but he is gon down and when I read it over I did not like t and so if this donte send it I shante like it as I donte send you aney news now I donte go abrode

I shall tell you what Consernes my selef our youngest Grand son is the foreed child us a live he has had the Small Pox and had it very fine and got a brod a gen. Capt All will tell you aboute him and Benj Franklin Beache, but as it is so dificall to writ I have deserd him to tell you, I have sent a squerel for your friend [1] and wish her better luck it is a very fine one I have had very bad luck they one kild and another run a way all thow they are bred up tame I have not a Caige as I donte know where the man lives that makes them my love to Salley Franklin my love to all our Cusins as thow menshond

[1] Miss Georgiana Shipley.

remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Weste doe you ever hear any thing of Ninely Evans as was

I thanke you for the silke and hat it at the womons to make it up but have it put up as you wrote [torn] I thonke it it is very prittey; what was the prise? I desier to give my love to every bodey [torn] I shold love Billey was in town 5 or 6 day when the child was in the Small Pox Mr Franklin [torn] not sene him yit I am to tell a verey pritey thing about Ben the players is cume to town and they am to ackte on Munday he wanted to see a play he unkill Beache had given him a doler his mama asked him wuther he wold give it for a ticket, or buy his Brother a neckles he sed his Brother a necklas he is a charmm child as ever was Borne my Grand cheldren are the Best in the world Salley will write I cante write aney mor I am your a feckshone wife,

D. FRANKLIN.

The Continental Congress convened on the 10th of May. Never had Franklin's time been more fully employed. "In the morning at six," he wrote to Joseph Priestley, "I am at the Committee of Safety, appointed by the Assembly to put the province in a state of defence, which Committee holds till near nine, when I am at the Congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon." Twenty-five members served upon the committee. It was their duty to call the militia into active service, to pay and furnish them with supplies and to provide for the defence of the province. To meet their expenses bills of credit for thirty-five thousand pounds were issued and put into their hands. They prepared and executed plans for the defence of Philadelphia, erecting fortifications and constructing armed boats. Upon this committee Franklin served as chairman for eight months.

Congress made provision for a new post-office establishment, and Franklin was appointed chairman of a committee of six to consider the best means of establishing posts for conveying letters and intelligence throughout the continent. The plan outlined by Franklin is that upon which the post-office of the United States is conducted at the present time. He was unanimously chosen postmaster-general, at a salary of one thousand dollars per annum. It was at this time that in franking letters he was wont to write "B free Franklin" instead of the original form "free, B. Franklin."

He served with zeal and energy upon ten committees. He was head of the commissioners for Indian affairs in the middle department; he was on the committee for engraving and printing continental money; on the committee to consider Lord North's conciliatory resolution in Parliament; on the investigation of the sources of saltpetre; for employing packet-ships and disposing of captured vessels; on a plan for protecting commerce; and on the plan of treaties to be proposed to foreign powers.

In July (1775), he prepared a sketch of a plan of permanent union of the colonies. Each colony was to retain its independence, but to be represented in an annual congress which should deal with all measures of resistance to injustice and oppression. Besides the thirteen already represented, Ireland, Canada, the West Indies, Bermuda, Nova Scotia and Florida were to be invited to join. The plan was presented to Congress, but was not acted upon.[1] The original draft as drawn by Franklin is in The American Philosophical Society.

[1] The plan of union was published in the Annual Register for 1775. The editor omitted "Ireland" from the list of colonies.

AMERICA

Massachusetts Bay, Pensilvania, Virginia, S. Carolina, Jamaica	each four	20
New York, Maryland, Canada	each three	9
Connecticutt, E. & W. Jerseys	each two	4
New Hampshire, Nova Scotia, Rhode Island, Lower Countries of Pensilvania, North Carolina, Georgia, East Florida, West Florida	each one	8
Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christophers, Bahamas	each one	4
Bermuda, Monserat, Nevis	all	1
Grenadas		2
New Foundland & St. Johns		1
Dominica, St. Vincent, Tobago		1
Commons		50

Lords for the principal provinces and Islands, as soon as found convenient, to be created by the Royal Prerogative		10

IRELAND

Each Province 4 Members		16
Dublin		2
Cork, Kinsale, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, Wicklow, Wexford	each one	7
Dundalk, Drogheda, Youghall		2
Galway, Belfast, Londonderry	each one	3
		30
And proportionate Numbers of Lords to be elected by the Irish Lords from among themselves		10

Fecit in the whole

American Commons	50
Lords	10
Irish Commons	30
Lords	10
	100

In September, with Thomas Lynch of South Carolina and Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, he was sent to Cambridge to consult with Washington relative to the military condition of the colonies, and to determine upon methods of supplying and governing the continental army. Order was to be

brought out of chaos; the army was unprepared for winter, — clothing, fuel, provision, gunpowder, were imperatively needed. Ammunition was so scarce that at Bunker Hill there were but five rounds for each soldier. None knew so well as Franklin the inadequacy and unpreparedness of the army, yet the day before he set forth for Cambridge he wrote to Priestley in a tone of confident irony: "Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these *data* Dr. Price's mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory."

The conference at the camp of General Washington began October the eighteenth and continued four days. It was agreed that an army of twenty-six regiments should be raised, and that preparations should be made for recruiting. Rules were made for selling prize ships, and for exchanging prisoners, and methods of raising from among the colonies the money necessary for paying the troops were determined upon.

A secret committee was appointed November 29, 1775, "to correspond secretly with friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world." Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Harrison, John Dickinson, Thomas Johnson, and John Jay were immediately appointed upon the committee with full powers to employ confidential agents in Europe and to send such agents from America. The first business of the committee was the employment of Charles W. F. Dumas, a

resident of The Hague, a man-of-letters, and a student of international law who had presented Franklin with his annotated edition of Vattel. Franklin wrote to him, enclosing a draft for two hundred pounds, as preliminary payment, and requested him to sound the foreign ambassadors at The Hague and ascertain if an alliance would be possible with any of the friendly powers.[1] Arthur Lee, in London, was addressed upon similar terms, and a strategic letter was sent to his Serene Highness, Don Gabriel of Bourbon, in the hope of striking some show of friendship from Spain. The letters were carried to Europe by Thomas Story. Large orders for arms and clothing were given to M. Penet, a French merchant, who departed for France, bearing with him other letters from Franklin, the most important of which was to Dr. Barbeu Dubourg, the translator and editor of Franklin's works.

The next important act of the Committee of Secret Correspondence was the sending abroad of Silas Deane to treat with the French government. He was to seek out Dr. Dubourg upon his arrival in Paris and be presented by him to Count de Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was to request the assistance and alliance of France, and promise that the American trade should be diverted from England to that country. He was to ask for clothing and arms for twenty-five thousand men, a quantity of ammunition and one hundred pieces of field artillery. He was to ask

[1] The letter was written by Franklin, December 9, 1775, and was approved and confirmed by John Dickinson and John Jay. It concluded: "As what we now request of you, besides taking up your Time and giving you Trouble may put you to some Expence we send you, for the present, inclosed, a Bill of two hundred pounds sterling to defray such Expences, and desire you to be assured that your services will be considered and honourably rewarded by the Congress." Dumas was to sign his letters "L'Ami des Col," or "L'Habitant de l'Academie de Leyde."

convoy for these articles and for the Indian goods he was instructed to purchase. Forty thousand pounds' worth of tobacco and rice were despatched to the ports of France so that he might be furnished with the means of paying for his purchases. Secrecy was maintained with great caution and mystery. The correspondence between the committee and their agent was to be upon specially prepared paper, written upon with invisible ink.

These manifold activities might have seemed a heavy tax upon one man, but fresh burdens were soon to be fastened upon Franklin. In the spring of 1776, he was appointed one of three commissioners to go to Canada, a long and laborious journey for one who was then seventy years of age. His fellow-travellers were Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, his fellow-commissioners, and the Rev. John Carroll, a Jesuit priest, afterward Archbishop of Baltimore, who was requested to accompany them because of the influence he might be expected to have over the Roman Catholics of Canada. The purpose of the commission was to promote or form a union between the colonies and the people of Canada. Montreal was reached April 29 after a journey of twenty-seven days.[1] Franklin lodged in "the best built and the best furnished house in the city." It belonged to Thomas Walker, an English merchant, who was an active sympathizer with the colonies.

The Canadians would have nothing to do with the very doubtful experiment of joining the colonies. The commissioners tried in vain to borrow money for the needs of the army. Franklin was suffering from the severity of the

[1] See "Diary of Charles Carroll," edited by Colonel Brantz Mayer, in Transactions of the Maryland Historical Society, Vol. I.

weather, and after a fortnight in Montreal returned in company with Dr. John Carroll, reaching Philadelphia in June.

On the morning of his departure Franklin wrote the following letter which was signed by the other commissioners.

Montreal 11th May 1776

DEAR SIR

We desire that you will shew to Mrs. Walker every civility in your power and facilitate her on her way to Philadelphia; the fear of cruel treatment from the enemy on account of the strong attachment to, and zeal of her husband in the cause of the united Colonies induces her to depart precipitately from her home; & to undergo the fatigues of a long and hazardous journey. We are sorry for the occasion of writing this letter & beg your attention to alleviate her distress; your known politeness and humanity, we are sensible, without this recommendation from us, would prompt you to perform the friendly office. We are with great esteem & sincere regard for yourself & family

Dr Sir Your affectionate hum Serv^ts^

SAM^l^ CHASE
CH. CARROLL of Carrollton
B. FRANKLIN.[1]

[1] Thomas Walker had been accused of defacing the bust of George III in Place d'Armes, Montreal. A string of potatoes for a rosary was found one morning in 1775 about the neck of the bust with an inscription, "Voici le Pape du Canada et de Sot des Anglais." Some persons in Montreal, offended by his rebellious speeches, entered his house at night and mutilated him by cutting off an ear. Franklin suddenly resolved to accompany the fair and "precipitate" Mrs. Walker, and on the score of ill health left his fellow-commissioners to pursue their ineffectual task in Canada. How little pleasure he had in the companionship of Mrs. Walker, who taunted him cruelly upon the ill success of his mission, may be learned from Franklin's letter to the commissioners. See Vol. VI, p. 448.

The original of the above letter, which was probably addressed to General

He was in time to take part in the historic proceedings which have made the 4th of July a day of imperishable memories. The Committee of Safety had recommended the election of delegates to a conference. Franklin was one of the twenty-five chosen by Philadelphia. The conference sat in Philadelphia from June 18 to 23, forswore allegiance to the king of England, and vowed obedience to Congress, and provided for the election of delegates from Philadelphia to meet in convention and form a constitution. Franklin was chosen one of the eight delegates from Philadelphia. The Declaration of Independence was drafted by Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman. It is well known that when John Hancock said, as they were about to sign the document, "We must be unanimous; we must all hang together," Franklin replied, "We must indeed all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately."[1]

John Adams wrote to his wife: "Dr. Franklin will be governor of Pennsylvania! The new members from this city are all in this taste — chosen because of their inflexible zeal for Independence. All the old members left out because they opposed Independence, or were lukewarm about it, Dickinson, Morris, and Allen all fallen like grass before the scythe, notwithstanding all their vast advantages in point of fortune, family, and abilities." On the 8th of July

Schuyler, is now in the council room of the Château de Ramezay, Montreal, which was the headquarters of the commissioners, and the place where the letter was written. The house in which Franklin lodged was demolished to make room for the extension of the Bonsecours Market. It stood at the corner of Jacques Cartier Square and Notre Dame Street.

[1] See also Vol. I, p. 38.

Payments to you, to the Sum of Thirty Pounds per Month, for the sake of our more easily settling, and to prevent Mistakes. This making 360 Pounds a Year, I thought, as you have no House Rent to pay yourself, and receive the Rents of 7 or 8 Houses besides, might be sufficient for the Maintenance of your Family. I judged such a Limitation the more necessary, because you never have sent me any Account of your Expences, and think yourself ill-used if I desire it; and because I know you were not very attentive to Money-matters in your best Days, and I apprehend that your Memory is too much impair'd for the Management of unlimited Sums, without Danger of injuring the future Fortune of your Daughter and Grandson. If out of more than 500£ a Year, you could have sav'd enough to buy those Bills it might have been well to continue purchasing them. But I do not like your going about among my Friends to borrow Money for that purpose, especially as it is not at all necessary. And therefore I once more request that you would decline buying them for the future. And I hope you will no longer take it amiss of Messrs Foxcrofts that they did not supply you. If what you receive is really insufficient for your support satisfy me by Accounts that it is so, and I shall order more.

I am much pleased with the little Histories you give me of your fine Boy, which are confirmed by all that have seen him. I hope he will be spared and continue the same Pleasure and Comfort to you, and that I shall ere lon[illegible] with you in it. My Love to him, and to his Papa [illegible] Mrs. Stevenson too is just made very happy by h[illegible] ter's being safely delivered of a Son: the Mother both well. Present my affectionate Respects to M[illegible]

Congress for that purpose on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same.

Franklin wrote to Howe, naming the house on Staten Island opposite to Amboy, or the governor's house at Amboy, as places suitable for the rendezvous. Howe preferred the first named, and Franklin and his colleagues started September 9 to keep the appointment. The admiral sent his barge to receive them and to leave an officer as a hostage. The committee took the officer back with them in the barge. Lord Howe met them at the landing and led them to a renovated room in an ancient stone house where they found an abundant collation of "good claret, good bread, cold ham, tongues, and mutton." Nothing satisfactory resulted from the conference. The committee reported to Congress, "Upon the whole it does not appear to your committee, that his Lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than what is expressed in the act of Parliament, namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace, upon submission." [1]

[1] "Lord Howe was profuse in his expressions of gratitude to the State of Massachusetts for erecting a marble monument in Westminster Abbey to his elder brother, Lord Howe, who was killed in America in the last French war, saying, 'he esteemed that honour to his family *above all things in this world*. That such was his gratitude and affection to the country on that account that he felt for America as for a brother, and if America should fall, he should feel and lament it like the loss of a brother.' Dr. Franklin, with an easy air and a collected countenance, a bow, a smile, and all that *naïveté* which sometimes appeared in his conversation, and is often observed in his writings, replied, 'My Lord, we will do our utmost endeavours to spare your Lordship that mortification.' His Lordship appeared to feel this with more sensibility than I could expect; but he only returned, 'I suppose you will endeavour to give us employment in Europe.'" "The Life and Works of John Adams," Vol. III, p. 79; and see also "Life of Josiah Quincy," p. 414.

CHAPTER VII

PLENIPOTENTIARY TO FRANCE

JOHN JAY related a strange incident which occurred in November, 1775.[1] An old gentleman of French appearance, lame, and with a military bearing, appeared in Philadelphia and promised to Congress the assistance of Louis XVI. "Gentlemen," said the mysterious foreigner, "if you want arms, you shall have them; if you want ammunition, you shall have it; if you want money, you shall have it." Of all these things the Congress had urgent need, but it was also necessary that they should know the name and credentials of the envoy who promised so liberally. In answer to such inquiries he drew his hand with a significant gesture across his throat, and said, "Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head." Nothing further was learned of him, and in another day he had vanished from Philadelphia, rather than removed in any bodily sense.

Many were convinced that he was really an emissary of the French government. Help was eagerly and confidently looked for from abroad. Spain, Holland, and France were unsleeping enemies of Great Britain. Congress was prepared to believe that France would welcome an opportunity to loosen the ties between America and England. A committee of secret correspondence was appointed, and Franklin penned letters to his liberal friends in England, to a grandee in Spain, a physician in Paris, and a lawyer at The Hague. Silas Deane was despatched to France with instructions drawn up by Franklin to engage in extensive business operations for the

[1] See "Life of John Jay," Vol. I, p. 39.

benefit of the colonies.[1] Ten months passed away while the country tossed in nervous impatience, waiting for some word in answer to the letters, or for some sign from Silas Deane. The letter that then arrived, in September, 1776, from Dr. Barbeu Dubourg encouraged Congress to send an embassy to France. On the 26th of December they unanimously elected Franklin and Jefferson. The latter declined on account of the ill health of his wife, and Arthur Lee was chosen in his stead. Silas Deane was retained as the third commissioner. Turning to Dr. Rush who sat beside him, Franklin said, when the result of the balloting was announced, "I am old and good for nothing; but, as the store-keepers say of their remnants of cloth, 'I am but a fag end, and you may have me for what you please.'" His last act at home, before departing upon a journey from which it was probable he would never return, was to lend to Congress between three and four thousand pounds.

He arrived in France on the *Reprisal*[2] after a stormy voyage, beaten for thirty days by November gales. They brought in with them to Quiberon Bay two prizes, a brigantine laden with tar, turpentine, and claret, and another with a cargo of cognac and flaxseed. Franklin went ashore at Auray, in Brittany, so weakened by the voyage that he could scarcely stand, and on the 7th of December reached Nantes. His coming was unexpected, but he had friends in the city, and elaborate entertainment was at once prepared

[1] Deane arrived in France, June, 1776, and was in Paris on the 5th of July. He travelled by Bermudas and Spain, the route of greatest security.

[2] A sixteen-gun ship, commanded by Captain Wickes. Franklin was accompanied by William Temple Franklin (aged seventeen) the illegitimate son of William Franklin, and Benjamin Franklin Bache (aged seven), eldest son of Sarah (Franklin) Bache.

for him. Lord Stormont, the British ambassador in Paris, wrote to Lord Weymouth (December 11, 1776): "I learnt yesterday evening that the famous Doctor Franklin is arrived at Nantes, with his two grandchildren. They came on an American privateer, which took several English vessels in her passage. Some people think that either some private dissatisfaction or despair of success have brought him into this country.[1] I cannot but suspect that he comes charged with a secret commission from the Congress, and as he is a subtle artful man, and void of all truth, he will in that case use every means to deceive, will avail himself of the general ignorance of the French, to paint the situation of the rebels in the falsest colours, and hold out every lure to the ministers, to draw them into an open support of that cause. He has the advantage of several intimate connexions here, and stands high in the general opinion. In a word, my Lord, I look upon him as a dangerous engine, and am very sorry that some English frigate did not meet with him by the way."

A second letter, written the next day (December 12) by Lord Stormont to the same correspondent, and marked "most confidential," read as follows: —

"I am forced to trouble Your Lordship with a few Words more. My suspicions with regard to Franklin are confirmed. He came over in a Forty Gun Ship to give more Eclat to his Mission and was at Versailles last Night as I am positively assured. He pressed to be instantly rec^{d} as a Minister from the Independent Colonies but in a Council that was held last Night upon the occasion, It was resolved

[1] A belief expressed by Franklin's old friend, Sir Grey Cooper, who wrote from New York (October 28, 1776), "The arch —— Dr. Franklin has lately eloped under the cloak of plenipotentiary to Versailles."

to decline this for the present. He talks the Language I expected, represents the Affairs of the Rebels as being in the most flourishing Condition, says that General Howe never will dare to attack Washington and adds that the Hessians who were advanced before the Main Army had attacked, and had been repulsed with loss. It is not to be doubted that he will make France the Most insidious and tempting offers, and there is, I think, but too much Reason to fear that he will draw her into the Snare."

Stormont corrected his error concerning the visit to De Vergennes in a letter of December the eighteenth. Half Paris believed that Franklin had gone at once to Versailles; but he tarried a fortnight at Nantes, while his presence in Europe continued to excite universal interest and curiosity. Madame du Deffand wrote to Horace Walpole: "The object of Dr. Franklin's visit is still problematical; and what is the most singular of all is that no one can tell whether he is actually in Paris or not. For three or four days it has been said in the morning that he had arrived and in the evening that he had not yet come." [1]

While the ministers with more or less success sought to persuade themselves that Franklin was seeking safety in selfish flight from a forlorn cause, statesmen, like Burke and Rockingham, were undeceived. "I persuade myself," wrote Burke, "that Franklin is come to Paris to draw from

[1] Deane wrote to the Committee of Correspondence that for a long time nothing had so occupied the minds of people as the arrival of Franklin. The prefect of police informed De Vergennes that a great sensation in Paris had been occasioned by the approach of Franklin, and that the departure of Beaumarchais had caused no less sensation. The public connected the two circumstances and found in the coincidence a proof that the insurgents had no desire for reconciliation. See Doniol, Vol. II, p. 101.

that court a definitive and satisfactory answer concerning the support of the colonies. If he cannot get such an answer, (and I am of opinion that at present he cannot,) then it is to be presumed he is authorized to negotiate with Lord Stormont on the basis of dependence on the crown. This I take to be his errand: for I never can believe that he is come thither as a fugitive from his cause in the hour of its distress, or that he is going to conclude a long life, which has brightened every hour it has continued, with so foul and dishonourable flight."

Lord Rockingham, replying to some correspondent who had communicated to him the news of Franklin's arrival, said: "In regard to this event I cannot refrain from paying my tribute of admiration to the vigour, magnanimity and determined resolution of the *Old Man.* The horrid scene at a Privy Council is in my memory, though perhaps not in his. It may not excite his conduct. It certainly deters him not.— He boldly ventures to cross the Atlantic in an American little frigate, and risks the dangers of being taken, and being once more brought before an implacable tribunal. The sight of Banquo's ghost could not more offend the eyes of Macbeth, than the knowledge of this old man being at Versailles, should affect the minds of those who were principals in that horrid scene.

"Depend upon it he will plead forcibly. He has but to combat a degree of folly in a very few in France. He is so armed with proofs of the *facility* with which France and Spain may now give a deadly blow to this country, that I can no longer enjoy the chief comfort I had in the reliance, that though the political conduct of this country was weak or infatuated beyond all bounds — yet the Courts of France and Spain were still more weak and blind.

"I am very curious to know what reception your information will meet from the Ministers. Inwardly they will tremble at it. They may appear to think slightly of the effects it will have. They will cherish a fond hope that France will not listen. In the mean time they will try to raise more and more indignation *here* against the Americans for this strong effort of application to France." [1]

When his strength was somewhat restored, Franklin proceeded to Paris, and entered the city at two o'clock in the afternoon of December 22. Dr. Barbeu Dubourg had already sent cards to all his acquaintance to announce his coming. Beaumarchais, in the luxurious office of Hortalez & Co., — the mysterious firm that was to finance the American Revolution, — a harp by his hand, and a score book on the table, awaited an interview with the only man who was his equal in wit, courage, versatility and sagacity. Madame du Deffand immediately reported the news of his arrival to Horace Walpole, as the event of most sensational interest. He went at once to the ancient Hôtel d'Hambourg, in the rue de l'Université, where Silas Deane lodged. Later, to escape the curious crowds that pressed about his doors, intruded upon various pretexts into his presence, and followed him with applause, whenever he walked abroad, he removed to Passy, where, in the Hôtel Valentinois, a dependance of the luxurious home of Le Ray de Chaumont, he found a quiet retreat where it was possible for him to command time for the despatch of public business, and the conduct of his incredibly voluminous correspondence with all the world. Chaumont

[1] Letter dated "Wentworth, Thursday night, December (1776)," published in "Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham" (Albemarle), 1852, Vol. II, p. 302.

was Grand Maître des Eaux et Forets de France and Intendant Honoraire des Invalides. He was rich and occupied the Château of Chaumont, on the Loire, and a house at Passy.[1] He was the close friend of the Duc de Choiseul, his neighbour at Chaumont, and had declined his invitation to enter the Ministry, as he preferred to act as an intermediary between the commissioners and Versailles.

Everywhere Franklin was received with an abundant cordiality, respect, and affection for which history furnishes scarcely a parallel. Every word he uttered was caught and pondered, and remembered; every action was studied and imitated. In him was the promise of better days and the augury of a more fortunate social order.

On the 23d of December, the commissioners, giving themselves the title of plenipotentiaries, addressed their first official communication to the Count de Vergennes:—

SIR

We beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that we are appointed and fully impowered by the Congress of the United States of America, to propose and negotiate a Treaty of Amity and Commerce between France and the said States. — The just and generous Treatment their Trading Ships have received, by a free Admission into the Ports of this Kingdom, with other Considerations of Respect, has induced the Congress to make this Offer first to France. We request an Audience of your. Excell^{y} wherein we may have an Opportunity of presenting our Credentials; and we flatter ourselves,

[1] John Locke was in Paris in 1679, and mentioned the Hôtel de Chaumont among the twenty-four *belles maisons* best worth seeing in the city.

that the Propositions we are instructed to make, are such as will not be found unacceptable.

With the greatest Regard, we have the Honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And most humble Servants

B. FRANKLIN

SILAS DEANE

ARTHUR LEE.

The audience was granted December 28. The commissioners were received with great respect. They presented their credentials and proposed the terms of a treaty of amity and commerce they desired to conclude with France. They asked the government to furnish Congress with eight ships of the line, for which Congress would pay in full. They received in reply good words cautiously uttered. De Vergennes complimented Franklin on his celebrity, and his knowledge, and spoke of the honour of seeing so distinguished a person, on an errand of the first consequence.[1] But he was fearful of a sudden rupture with Great Britain; he was not yet certain of the strength of the colonies. He assured the commissioners of the good-will and protection of the king, and desired them to submit their propositions in writing to M. Gérard de Rayneval, Secretary of the Foreign Office.

The watchful Stormont gathered from his informants some inkling of the interview, and reported it in dreadful secrecy to Lord Weymouth: —

Paris Jany 1st. 1777

MY LORD.

* * * * * * *

Franklin, who came back from Versailles much dissatisfied,

[1] Paul Wentworth to the Earl of Suffolk, January 25, 1777.

has since that time, made several endeavours, to be admitted to see M. de Vergennes, and I strongly suspect, did see him on Saturday last, I know at least that He, and Dean went to Versailles that day. M de Vergennes has affected to say, to several Persons, of late, that it would be impossible for him to refuse to see Mr Franklin, as it was a General Rule with Ministers, to see and hear everybody. Franklin who is much at home, is, I am told, frequently visited by different Persons of the Choiseul Party, but particularly by M de Flainville. The Duke of Choiseul, Franklin, and Deane, met on Monday Evening, at a Ladys House of my acquaintance, and I am much inclined to believe, that the Meeting was not Accidental.

It is certain, that the Choiseul Party take Franklin by the Hand, openly espouse the cause of the Rebels, and Rail in all companies, at the Weakness of the present french Ministers, who say they, lose such an opportunity, of giving the Natural Rival, and enemy of France a Mortal Blow. Your Lordship sees that by this Means, Franklin will become an Instrument of Faction, which I hope will rather obstruct, than facilitate his Negotiations. The Language he Effects to hold, to his intimates, is, that he accepted this commission very unwillingly, that he told the Congress, that all he could do, was to go to France, and die there in their Service, that the *stuff* was almost worn out, but the last *thread* of it was at their Disposal. I purposely repeat all this, to shew your Lordship, the canting Tone he assumes.

I cannot yet pretend to form any decisive Judgement, as to his success: My poor opinion is, that the present French Ministers wish to wound, but are afraid to strike, and tho' the offers he makes, may tempt them, they will think twice, before

they expose themselves, and their Country, to the Hazard of an unnecessary War; however this may be, I am persuaded, that it is on our constant Vigilance, at Home and uninterrupted Success in America that the Continuance of the public Tranquillity, must ultimately depend. I am with the greatest Truth and Respect, etc.

STORMONT

The commissioners presented their memorial to Gérard. They received no positive promise of aid, or loan of ships, but were told that they could have two million francs without interest, to be repaid when the United States should be settled in peace and prosperity. Franklin wrote of this loan to the Secret Committee (January 17, 1777): "No conditions or security are required, not even an engagement from us. We have accepted this generous and noble benefaction; five hundred thousand francs, or one quarter, is to be paid into the hands of our banker this day, and five hundred thousand more every three months." On the 22d of January he added a postscript to his letter, "We have received the five hundred thousand francs mentioned above, and our banker has orders to advance us the second payment if we desire it."

January the fifth, Franklin asked Vergennes to admit him and his colleagues to a second audience the next day. The minister, fearful of the reports that might be flung abroad by the English spies who were watching every movement made by Franklin, instructed Gérard to reply that he could not receive them upon that day at Versailles, but that he would see them on Tuesday in Paris. The meeting actually took place January the ninth, at Versailles, when a memorandum was submitted relating to the financial resources of the United

States. At this meeting, according to Paul Wentworth's report to the Earl of Suffolk, the deputies were "attended by the gentleman your Lordship knows, by the name of Edwards, as their secretary." The mysterious person named Edwards is generally believed to have been Dr. Edward Bancroft, concerning whom very different opinions have been entertained by historians. Bancroft called him "a double spy," George III believed him to be "entirely an American," while Henri Doniol declared him to be "au gages du foreign office." English spies abounded in Paris, and the correspondence of Franklin and Deane was intercepted and furtively examined. Captains of American vessels were tracked by spies who pandered to their vices, or paid them out of hand for secret intelligence that they might have from America, or which they might become aware of in France. The "Reverend" John Vardill sought the acquaintance of Captain Joseph Hynson, and communicated what he learned to Lord North.[1]

George Lupton ingratiated himself into the favour of the group that gathered about Deane, who kept a table at the Hôtel d'Hambourg for Carmichael, Wickes, Hynson, Nicholson, Moylan, W. T. Franklin, and others of his countrymen who were engaged in the service of the Congress. Several of them lodged in the house and were supplied with money by Silas Deane. Hynson, who was a brother-in-law of Captain Wickes, the captain of the *Reprisal*, in which Franklin had crossed the ocean, lived in particular intimacy with Car-

[1] Stormont wrote to William Eden (April 16, 1777), "I am more and more persuaded that Hynson is, in some respects at least, an instrument in Deane's hands, but taking him upon that footing some use may be made of him, as he is not a man of real ability and may easily be drawn on to say more than he intends."

michael. Captain Nicholson, too, was upon terms of confidence with Carmichael, and their mistresses, who had lived together in London, were now dwelling together in Paris.

It was through Carmichael that Lupton discovered the name (M. Benson) under which Deane received letters from England.[1]

The most singular document of this kind is the engagement of Dr. Edwards [Bancroft?] to correspond with Paul Wentworth and Lord Stormont, and the means of conducting that correspondence, written in the hand of Paul Wentworth, and now among the Auckland Manuscripts at King's College, Cambridge.

"D. Edwards engages to Correspond with M. Wentworth & to communicate to him, whatever may come to his knowledge on the following subjects. —

"The progress of the Treaty with France, & of the Assistance expected, or Commerce carryed on in any of the ports of that Kingdom, — The Same with Spain, & of every other Court in Europe. The Agents in ye foreign Islands in America, & the means of carrying on the Commerce with the Northern Colonys.

"The means of obtaining Credit — Effects & Money: & the Channells & agents used to apply them; the secret moves about the Courts of France & Spain, & the Congress Agents & having the lines from one to the other.

"Franklins & Dean's Correspondence with the Congress, & their Agents: and the secret as well as the ostensible Letters from the Congress to them. Copys of any transactions,

[1] Lupton quoted Carmichael as saying that "neither Franklin nor Deane are capable of doing the business for which they were designed."

committed to Paper, & an exact account of all intercourse & the subject matter treated of, between the Courts of Versailles & Madrid, and the Agents from the Congress.

"*Subjects to be communicated to Lord Stormont.*

"Names of the two Carolina Ships, Masters both English & French, description of the Ships, & Cargoes: the time of sailing, & the port bound to —

"The same Circumstances respecting all equipments in any port in Europe: together with the names of the Agents imployed.

"The intelligence that may arrive from America, the Captures made by their privateers, & the instructions they receive from the deputys.

"How the Captures are disposed of.

"*Means for conducting the correspondence.*

"For Lord Stormont — all Letters directed to Mr. Richardson — written on Gallantry — but the white Parts of the paper to contain the intelligence written with invisible Ink — the Wash to make which appear, is given to L^d St.

"In these Letters, or the Covers not visibly written on, will be contained what L^d St. : will be pleased to fold up, & direct in a Cover to W. Wentworth — & send it by messenger.

"All packetts which M. Mary may send to Lord Stormont, to be sent unopened to W. W. by Messenger only. Mr. Jeans will call every Tuesday Evening after halfpast Nine, at the Tree pointed out on the S. Terrace of the Tuilleries & take from the Hole at the root — the Bottle containing a Letter: — "And place under the Box-Tree agreed on, a bottle containing any Communications from Lord Stormont to Dr.

Edwards. All Letters to be Numbered with white Ink, The bottle to be sealed — & tyed by the Neck with a common twyne, about half a Yard in length — the other end of which to be fastened to a peg of wood, split at top to receive a very small piece of a Cord — the bottle to be thrust under the Tree, & the Peg into the Ground on the west side."

So numerous and questionable were the strangers who prowled about the neighbourhood of Passy that Lenoir, the chief of police, received orders to take particular precautions for Franklin's safety. The following paragraph appeared in the *Nouvelles de Divers Endroits*, Supplément, No 67, August 20, 1777: "Certain sinister-looking persons, seen lurking around Dr. Franklin's lodgings at Passy, and others no less suspected, who have even penetrated to his presence upon different pretexts, have led the government to give positive orders to the Lieutenant General of Police to watch over the safety of this respectable old man, and take all the precautions to this end that prudence could suggest."

By means of these secret sources of information Stormont learned of the proceedings in the ports of France, and by his remonstrances to the court succeeded in having vessels detained, and the transportation of goods impeded. "Pray recollect what I told you," Vergennes wrote to Dubourg (June, 1776), "one can connive at certain things but one cannot authorize them." With the best will in the world the Minister dared not carry his cheerful connivance so far as to give occasion to Stormont to ask for his passports.

Franklin's letters, too, were opened by Anthony Todd, the secretary of the general post-office in London, their contents copied, and reclosed and fastened with imitations of the seals.

Stormont had discovered that Franklin carried on at least an occasional correspondence with Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, Thomas Walpole, Samuel Wharton (Lisle Street), Thomas Wharton (Suffolk Street), and Mr. Williams of Queen Street, Cheapside, and that these letters were addressed to Jones, Jackson, Johnson, Watson, and Nicholson.

In the spring of 1777 the envoys turned their attention to other courts. At the suggestion of Vergennes, Franklin had entered into communication with Conde d'Aranda with a view to winning the aid of Spain. Carmichael had sounded the Swedish Minister at The Hague on the possibility of getting stores from Sweden, but had been discouraged from undertaking a journey to Stockholm. Arthur Lee started for Spain, but was informed before he reached that country that the government would prefer not to be embarrassed by the presence of an American envoy at Madrid. Lee obtained a few supplies and, seeing further concessions impossible, returned to Paris and set forth for Berlin, travelling in an English postchaise, painted deep green, and with A.L. in cipher upon the panels. Sayre, an American adventurer who had formerly been an alderman in London, accompanied him with the intention of proceeding to St. Petersburg to make a conquest of the empress. Lee could not persuade Frederick the Great into an alliance, and by his expedition rendered to his country only the negative service of leaving his colleagues in Paris free for six months to act according to their wisdom without his arrogant interference.

Now began nine years of toil incredible, of heart-breaking disappointments, worries innumerable, through all which Franklin moved patiently, tranquilly, deliberately, emerging triumphantly at last to throw himself into the arms of the

Duc de Rochefoucauld, after signing the treaty of Peace, exclaiming, "My friend, could I have hoped, at my age, to enjoy such a happiness?"

The business of the embassy was enormous. Franklin was constantly harassed by troops of young military officers who craved positions in the continental army. Commissions and letters of recommendation descended upon him in overwhelming volume. He dreaded to dine abroad, being almost sure of meeting with some officer, or officer's friend, who as soon as he should be put in good humour by a glass or two of champagne, would begin his attack upon him.

To further the accomplishment of the objects urged upon him by the Secret Committee he lived with the pen in his hand. He wrote to various continental papers, letters and articles upon "American Credit," "A Catechism relative to the English National Debt," and "A Dialogue between Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Saxony, and America," all calculated to embarrass England in the negotiation of loans, and to promote the credit of America. The official correspondence of the embassy entailed heavy burdens. Four or five copies had to be made of every document. No provision had been made for a secretary, and Franklin was obliged to rely upon his grandson to sort and arrange the ever increasing mass of papers relating to the office and to make copies of the despatches to America.[1]

He had now arranged his household at Passy. He employed a maître d'hôtel, who, according to the agreement, was to provide daily *déjeuner* and dinner for five persons. The

[1] Franklin paid him, for the first year, six hundred and fifty dollars: for the second year, eight hundred; the third, nine hundred; the fourth, twelve hundred; and thereafter, fifteen hundred.

déjeuner was to consist of bread and butter, honey, and coffee or chocolate with sugar. The dinner was to include a joint of beef, or veal or mutton, followed by fowl or game with "deux plats d'entremets, deux plats de legumes, et un plat de Pattisserie, avec hors d'œuvre, de Beurres, cornichons, radis, etc.; pour le Dessert deux de Fruit en hiver, et 4 en Eté. Deux compottes. Un assiette de fromage, un de Biscuits, et un de bonbons. — Des Glaces, 2 fois par Semaine en Eté et un fois en Hyver." For this service Franklin paid 720 livres a month for the family, and 240 livres for his nine domestic servants. For extra dinners to guests he allowed 400 livres per month. Thus his table cost him 1360 francs. Upon the first of February (1778) he had in his cellar 1040 bottles of wine, classified as follows:—

Vin rouge de Bordeaux	85
Vin de Chairaisse	148
Vin blanc de Bordeaux	34
Vin rouge de Bordeaux (1761) . .	15
Vin rouge de Bordeaux (bottled at Passy)	159
Vin blanc de Champagne . . .	21
Vin blanc de Moussie	326
Vin de bourgogne, rouge	113
Vin rouge ordinaire	209
Vin blanc ordinaire	10
Vin inconnu demi bouteille . . .	12
Rum	48

Upon the 1st of September, 1782, he again took account of the contents of the cellar, and found that he had 1203 bottles in stock. His hired carriage cost him 12 livres and 24 sols per day, but as he had to clothe his coachman, to have him appear "decent," and his clothes cost 200 livres a year, the

total cost of his carriage and coachman was 5018 livres per year. Chaumont gave his house freely to the envoys and stripped himself of his fortune to supply American necessities. "So much the worse," said he, "for those who would not do the same if they had the opportunity; so much the better for me to have immortalized my house by receiving into it Dr. Franklin and his associates."

John Adams wrote him (September 16, 1778):—

"SIR,

"As our finances are at present in a situation seriously critical, and as I hold myself accountable to Congress for every part of my conduct even to the smallest article of my expenses I must beg the favour of you to consider what rent we ought to pay you for this house and furniture, both for the time past and to come.

"Every part of your conduct towards me and towards our Americans in general, and in all our affairs, has been polite and obliging, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing, and I have no doubt it will continue so; yet it is not reasonable that the United States should be under so great obligation to a private gentleman as that two of their representatives should occupy for so long a time so elegant a seat with so much furniture and such fine accommodations, without any compensation; and in order to avoid the danger of the disapprobation of our constituents on the one hand for living here at too great or at too uncertain an expense, and, on the other, the censure of the world for not making sufficient compensation to a gentleman who has done so much for our convenience, it seems to me necessary that we should come to an understanding upon this head.

"As you have an account against the Commissioners, or against the United States for several other matters, I should be obliged to you if you would send it in as soon as possible, as every day makes it more and more necessary for us to look into our affairs with the utmost precision."

Chaumont replied: —

"Passy, September 18, 1778.

"SIR,

"I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 15th inst. making inquiry as to the rent of my house in which you live for the past and the future. When I consecrated my home to Dr. Franklin and his associates who might live with him, I made it fully understood that I should expect no compensation, because I perceived that you had need of all your means to send to the succour of your country, or to relieve the distresses of your countrymen escaping from the chains of their enemies. I pray you, sir, to permit this arrangement to remain, which I made when the fate of your country was doubtful. When she shall enjoy all her splendour, such sacrifices on my part will be superfluous or unworthy of her; but at present they may be useful, and I am happy in offering them to you."

John Adams submitted to Franklin a plan with regard to their accounts.

"Passy September 22, 1778

"SIR,

"Upon looking over the account of the expenditure of the money for which we have jointly drawn upon the banker, since my arrival at Passy, I find some articles charged for similar ones to which I have paid in my separate capacity.

I do not mean to be difficult about these things, but that we may have a plan for the future, I beg leave to propose, that the wages and expenses of the *maître d'hôtel* and cook, and of all the servants, their clothes, and every other expense for them, the wages, clothes, and other expenses of the coachman, the hire of the horses and carriage, the expenses of postage of letters, of expresses to Versailles and Paris, and elsewhere, of stationary ware, and all the expenses of the family, should be paid out of the money to be drawn from the banker by our joint order. If to these Dr. Franklin chooses to add the washerwoman's accounts for our servants etc. as well as ourselves, I have no objection; receipts to be taken for payments of money, and each party furnished with a copy of the account and a sight of the receipts once a month, if he desires it. The expenses of a clerk for each may be added, if Dr. Franklin pleases, or this may be a separate expense, as he chooses. Expenses for clothes, books, and other things, and transient pocket expenses, to be separate. Or, if any other plan is more agreeable to Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams begs him to propose it. The accounts for our sons at school may be added, if Dr. Franklin chooses it, to the general account, or otherwise. For my own part, when I left America, I expected, and had no other thought, but to be at the expense of my son's subsistence and education here in my private capacity, and I shall be very contented to do this, if Congress should desire it. But while other gentlemen are maintaining and educating large families here, and enjoying the exquisite felicity of their company at the same time, perhaps Congress may think it proper to allow this article to us as well as to them; and I am sure I do not desire it, nor would I choose to accept it, if it was not allowed to others, although, perhaps, the

duties, labours, and anxieties of our station may be greater than those of others.

"I am sir, your inmate and most obedient servant.

"JOHN ADAMS."

Franklin's total expenses in France appear to have been about $15,000 a year. Arthur Lee learned from the banker's books that Deane received on his private account from December, 1776, to March, 1778, $20,926; and that in the same fifteen months Lee drew $12,749, and Franklin $12,214.[1]

Congress passed the following resolution, August 6, 1779:

"*Resolved*, That an allowance of eleven thousand four hundred and twenty-eight Livres Tournois per Annum, be made to the several Commissioners of the United States in Europe for their services, besides their reasonable expenses respectively. That the Salary, as well as the Expenses, be computed from the Time of their leaving their places of abode to enter on the duties of their offices, and be continued three months after Notice of their Recall, to enable them to return to their families respectively."

Franklin's associates were more in the nature of hindrances than helps. The bigoted and egotistical Ralph Izard was sent to Tuscany, the haughty and insolent Arthur Lee to Spain, John Adams to Holland, and Dana to Russia; but they never really reached or influenced the courts to which they were accredited, nor did they receive any favourable replies to their reiterated petitions. Among themselves they

[1] Jefferson could not afford to keep a riding horse: "Be assured," he once said, "we are the lowest and most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe." Vergennes told Noailles that Franklin's style of living was "modest."

were devoured by envy and anger. They plotted against each other and cherished feelings of jealousy and malice. Silas Deane fell into disfavour with Congress and was recalled. Franklin looked leniently upon his alleged trespasses. He had himself been so beset and pestered by army officers ambitious of commanding positions in the American forces that he was ready to condone Deane's indiscretions in employing and recommending foreign soldiers. When summoned home (December 8, 1777), Deane enjoyed the confidence of Franklin and Vergennes, but Arthur Lee declared that he had put into his purse £60,000 sterling while he was in Paris. Other letters Lee wrote full of charges and insinuations against the loyalty and moral character of his colleagues. He characterized Bancroft as "a notorious stock jobber, living in defiance of religion and decency; a friend of Deane who has just published a most false and scandalous libel in *New York Gazette* and *Courrier de l'Europe*." Always envious and suspicious, Lee was restless and irritable under the superior eminence of Franklin, and altogether unwilling to admit the authority of either Franklin or Deane. He had been appointed a Commissioner to France (October 22, 1776) in the place of Jefferson when the latter had declined the appointment. He had ineffectually sought aid from Spain and Prussia. He was jealous of Deane's control of the accounts and of his intimacy with Beaumarchais, whom Lee had met in London when he was a companion of the Wilkes set. Lee's egotistic and suspicious nature caused him at times to act like an insane person. There can be little doubt that his mental obsessions disqualified him for rational judgment and conduct. He was possessed by the belief that the friends of Deane were plotting to destroy his reputation and to

traduce his character. He believed that his colleagues were withholding official information from him, and were secretly engaged in intrigues to malign him in European newspapers and to misrepresent him in letters to America. He wearied Franklin with constant communications that obstructed public business, and wrote to Congress urging the recall of Franklin, and his own promotion to his place in France. "I have within this year," he wrote to Samuel Adams, "been at the several courts of Spain, Vienna, and Berlin, and I find this of France the great wheel that moves them all. Here therefore the most activity is requisite and if it should ever be a question in Congress about my destination I should be much obliged to you for remembering that I should prefer being at the court of France." He recommended that Franklin should be sent to Vienna because that court was most respectable and quiet!

He wrote to his brother: "Things go on worse and worse every day among ourselves and my situation is more painful. I see in every department neglect, dissipation, and private schemes. Being in trust here, I am responsible for what I cannot prevent, and these very men will probably be the instruments of having me called to account one day for their misdeeds. There is but *one way* of redressing this and remedying the public evil, that is the plan I before sent you, of appointing the doctor, *honoris causa* to Vienna, Mr. Deane to Holland, Mr. Jennings to Madrid, and leaving me here. In that case I should have it in my power to call those to an account through whose hands I know the public money has passed, and which will either never be accounted for, or misaccounted for by connivance of those who are to share in the public plunder."

The dispute between Deane and Lee had its origin in the jealousy of the Southern and Eastern spirit, and this ancient antagonism had been heightened by a bitter personal quarrel. Their dislike and contempt for each other were beyond all reconciliation. By means of letters from France the fierce feud was extended to America, and the partisans of Lee and the friends of Deane engaged in bitter factional warfare. "Nothing short of the Ruin of the Reputation of Arthur Lee," wrote James Lovell to Franklin, "will glut the Malice of a party formed against him by that Spirit of assassinating Innuendo which so eminently governs his Arch enemy." [1]

Nothing testifies more strongly to the sane and calm philosophy of life that Franklin held and practised than the imperturbable way in which he discharged his duties amid the jarring interests and malicious slander of his associates. If ever an enterprise seemed foredoomed to failure it was the American cause in Europe. Greed, treachery, and jealousy marked its course. Deane detested Lee, Izard and Lee hated Franklin. Adams, unyieldingly honest, and almost fanatically patriotic, was at times egotistically mad.[2] Carmichael was feeding a company of spies at his Paris table; and at Nantes and at Havre, bankers and merchants were contending for the spoils of prize ships. Lord North declared that Franklin was the only man in France whose hands were not stained with stock jobbery. Stephen Sayre, who made infinite protestations of patriotism, was constantly importuning Franklin for lucrative offices, and while professing his eternal regard for him, wrote at the same time to Capellen a

[1] April 29, 1779.

[2] Franklin characterized him as "always an honest man, sometimes a great man, and sometimes positively mad."

venomous letter in which Franklin was stigmatized as a "great villain." The letter is so characteristic of the kind of slander that was current upon both sides of the Atlantic that I quote it in full.

"Amsterdam, Dec. 14, 1779

"I have ever had a favourable opinion of that *man* [Franklin], I mean at Passy, except on one or two former occasions, which I had pardon'd, as a compliment to his virtues. I wish it had been in my power, for I have no personal prejudices to shut my eyes against some later transactions, for it shakes my confidence, & hurts my feelings more than anything else.

"The field is so large, a volume would not explain all. But what opinion could you hold of any man, let his reputation be ever so well establish'd, that would deliberately pass the accounts of an agent, employ'd by himself, & now his devoted servant, when this very agent has been detected in purchasing bad arms for the Americans in 1776 & 1777 such as were fit only for that infamous trade of America. They had been condemn'd, above 12 years since, *as unfit for service.* This very Agent wrote so to a Gentleman who now holds his letter. He wrote also, that they were not worth above three livres each. They were however bought by this very agent, and charged to the public account at twenty-three livres. — He has had the money, & they were sent to America to defend the most glorious cause the sun ever saw — the unhappy men who used them, had hearts but no arms & of course were sacrificed.

"The French Officers in America who saw and knew the arms, will tell you the story now, with tears in their eyes.

This man however is, more than ever, now patronized by the great villain, who is his uncle." [1]

John Adams toiled amid heart-breaking discouragements to negotiate loans in Holland. Some of the business houses of that country were disposed to oblige America, others were partisans of England. John de Neufville & Son, Hend[r] Steenbergen, de la Lande and Fynje, and Horneca Fizeau & Co. were friendly to America; Hope & Co., Richard Wilkinson, Ten Broeck & Co., and Van der Pol were closely allied with English interests. One of the earliest Dutch sympathizers with America was Joan Derck van der Capellen. He wrote twice to Franklin, and receiving no reply, asked Dr. Price to introduce him. Price replied: "You intimate that you would be glad to be introduced to an acquaintance with Dr. Franklin. I wish I could oblige you in this, but it is scarcely in my power. While in England he was one of my most intimate friends, but from mutual regard we have since avoided writing to one another."

Under the name of Hortalez & Co., Caron de Beaumarchais directed the business of America in France. The affair of the *Amphitrite*, a ship owned by Beaumarchais, was the first to convince Great Britain of the encouragement that France was giving to the Americans.

Silas Deane, pressed by Beaumarchais and Vergennes, recommended a French officer, Du Coudray, to Congress as a military leader of great experience. With a letter of introduction from Franklin and Deane, and a commission as

[1] See "Brieven van en aan Joan Derck van der Capellen van de Poll. uitgegeven door Mr. W. H. De Beaufort." Utrecht, Kemink & Zoon, 1879 (p. 162). This book contains the correspondence of Capellen with Americans, and much information concerning American business transactions in Europe.

general of artillery granted by Deane, he sailed upon Beaumarchais' vessel, *Amphitrite*. The assumed name of Durand was a thin disguise for a man so widely known as Caron Beaumarchais. He wrote extravagant letters to the Committee of Correspondence, hurried to French seaports, engaged vessels to transport merchandise and military stores to America, paying two-thirds of the freight in advance and finding security for the remainder. He loaded vessels in the secrecy of night after being forbidden by the government to engage in such illegal operations. To quote his own words: "If government caused my vessels to be unloaded in one port I sent them secretly to reload at a distance in the roads. Were they stopped under their proper names I changed them immediately or made pretended sales, and put them anew under fictitious commissions. Were obligations in writing exacted from my Captains to go nowhere but to the West India Islands, powerful gratifications on my part made them yield again to my wishes. Were they sent to prison on their return for disobedience, I then doubled their gratifications to keep their zeal from cooling, and consoled them with gold for the rigour of our government. Voyages, messengers, agents, presents, rewards, — no expense was spared. One time, by reason of an unexpected counter order, which stopped the departure of one of my vessels, I hurried by land to Havre twenty-one pieces of cannon, which, if they had come from Paris by water, would have retarded us ten days." [1]

Maurepas, the Prime Minister, was a frivolous character who was amused by the wit and good humour of Beaumar-

[1] The capital which Beaumarchais employed was the million from the French treasury in June, 1776; the million from Spain, September, 1776; and another million from France in 1777.

chais. He influenced De Vergennes to allow Beaumarchais a free hand, and the latter succeeded in despatching the *Amphitrite*. When the vessel returned in three weeks by orders of Du Coudray who was dissatisfied with his quarters, Beaumarchais in wrath turned the General of Artillery out of the ship and succeeded again in gaining the assent of the ministers to the second sailing of the vessel. Stormont wrote to Lord Weymouth (January 29, 1777): "What has happened with regard to the *Amphitrite* is a strong proof of Monsieur de Maurepas' Unsteadiness and Irresolution. I have no doubt that orders were sent to Havre which would have prevented her sailing at all if they had not arrived too late. It was most natural to infer from thence that stress of weather and other accidents having forced her to put into L'Orient she would be ordered to remain there. This was in contemplation, but an Unwillingness to combat the Intrigues of the different Parties who from various Causes favour the Rebels, or Apprehension of appearing to be dictated to by Great Britain, a Dread of Beaumarchais' Indiscretion, if he was made desperate, and perhaps a little of that paltry Policy that wishes to stab in the Dark made M. de Maurepas connive, at least, at this second Departure of the *Amphitrite*. A Friend of M. de Maurepas to whom I was talking upon the Subject dropped this unguarded Expression. Mais que voulez vous, si peut-etre on a laché indiscretement quelque Parole a ce Beaumarchais on quelque Billet que sais je moi? on est bien embarrasse quand en a eu affaire à le parolles gars." [1]

[1] Du Coudray sailed upon another ship. When he arrived in America, the artillery service was already arranged, and General Knox appointed to the chief command. Much contention ensued, many officers resigned, and

CHAPTER VIII

VAST EUROPEAN FAME

JONATHAN LORING AUSTIN carried the despatches that brought to France the news of the capture of Burgoyne's army. The excitement in Paris was immense. Beaumarchais, lifted from the depth of despair and of financial ruin, drove in such haste to the city to congratulate Franklin that his glass coach was overturned, and he was so badly cut about the face and body by the broken glass that he lay in danger of his life. Europe rejoiced at the check administered to England in America. Paris rejoiced as though the victory had been won by French troops over the enemies of France. There was tumultuous and tremendous joy.[1] Three days after Austin arrived, Franklin drew up a memorial proposing a tripartite alliance of France, Spain, and America. De Vergennes promised an answer in two days when it should be known how well disposed he was to serve the cause of America.

The treaties of amity and commerce with his most Christian Majesty, and of alliance for mutual defence were signed

Deane was blamed for the confusion and dissension. Du Coudray was drowned in the Schuylkill. The *Amphitrite* returned with a cargo of rice and indigo valued at one hundred and fifty thousand francs, consigned not to Hortales & Co., but to Lee, Deane, and Franklin. Beaumarchais produced his contract with Deane, plead with Franklin to save his house from ruin, and obtained the cargo in spite of the protests of Arthur Lee.

[1] Burgoinised became a popular word in both France and America. Madame Brillon used it in her correspondence, and John Adams, speaking of the Elizabethtown affair, April 29, 1779, said, "It appears that the English were repulsed and lost the cattle and horses they had taken and if they had not fled with uncommon dexterity they would have been *burgoinisses*, a technical term which I hope the Academie will admit into the language by lawful authority."

by the plenipotentiaries on both sides, February 6, 1778.[1] For a few weeks the treaties were kept secret through some doubt of their ratification by Congress. When they were publicly avowed, the commissioners were received at court (February 20) and established in full diplomatic relations with the government of France. Madame du Deffand wrote to Horace Walpole (March 22, 1778): "Mr. Franklin has been presented to the King. He was accompanied by some twenty insurgents, three or four of whom wore a uniform. Franklin wore a dress of reddish brown velvet, white hose, his hair hanging loose, his spectacles on his nose, and a white hat under his arm. I do not know what he said, but the reply

[1] On the last day of 1777 one of William Eden's spies wrote to him: "Doctor Franklin is all life and full of Spirits — he dined last week with the Doctor of the Invalids at this place — after dinner the Gen^tn gave Success to the American Arms — and if you please says Franklin we'll add — a perpetual and everlasting understanding between the House of Bourbon and the American Congress — this has made much noise here — & the General opinion of the people is — that Alliance is absolutely concluded between this Court and the Americans — for my part I cannot say much at present — as am just arrived — and have hardly had time to turn myself — However by next Courier expect a full account of their whole proceeding as far as I can come at, — I am sorry to be the Messenger of bad news — yet I am confident — 'tis absolutely necessary you should have the best and most Authentic Intelligence — You may depend on me for every thing that possiable for a man to do in my situation — and shall exert myself more than common (if Possiabe) to come at the bottom of everything — Doctor Franklin is a life — and does nothing but fly from one part of Paris to t'other — Possiably his course may be Stop'd Shortly — as I hope and flat[ter] myself you'll have some favourable Intelligence from other side the Atlantic which will Check him and his boasting followers — Indeed tis highly necessary — as they carry their heads much above the common Run — on acct: of the disaster of Genl Bourgoyne — Adieu? Dr Sir expect News in my Next if any — I have not seen Ogg yet but hope to find — the Needfull there — as this Season of year here — is attended with unusual Expenses — which is Customary — I am with Respect — Your Hum Ser^t

"GEO. LUPTON
"Dec. 31, 1777"

of the king was very gracious, as well towards the United States as towards Franklin their deputy. He praised his conduct and that of all his compatriots. I do not know what title he will have, but he will go to court every Tuesday like all the rest of the diplomatic corps."

Lord Stormont was instructed to return to England.[1] A French fleet under the command of Count d'Estaing put to sea in April. M. Gérard sailed to America to represent the court of France.[2] Deane was recalled and replaced by John Adams.

While these diplomatic and naval manœuvres were in progress, England made secret overtures of peace. James Hutton, an old and honoured friend of Franklin and a worthy of the Church of the United Brethren, David Hartley, a member of Parliament and a son of the philosopher admired by Coleridge, Sir Philip Gibbes, William Pulteney, and Dr. Fothergill sounded Franklin in the hope of discovering some basis of peace without humiliating England and without granting independence.

Dr. Fothergill outlined to Franklin what he called his Court of Arbitration: "In the warmth of my affection for mankind I could wish to see engrafted into this League [of Nations] a resolution to preclude the necessity of general wars — the great object of universal civilization; the institution of a

[1] When Stormont left Paris, he advertised a sale of his household effects. Among other things was mentioned a great quantity of unused table linen, concerning which no surprise was expressed, for, said the Frenchmen, he never asked any one to dine.

[2] Gérard negotiated the first treaty of Alliance, February 6, 1778. He arrived in Philadelphia, July, 1778, and acted as minister for one year. He took final leave of Congress, September 17, 1779. He returned to Europe on the same vessel with John Jay. His successor was Count de la Luzerne, who arrived in Philadelphia, September 21, 1779.

College of Justice, where the claims of sovereigns should be weighed — an award given — and war only made on him who refused submission. No one man in the world has it so much in his power as my honoured Friend to infuse the thought into the hearts of princes, or those who rule them and their affairs."

Lord North speedily introduced two conciliatory bills into Parliament, and in March, 1778, Lord Carlisle, Richard Jackson, and William Eden were named Commissioners for restoring Peace and sailed from Portsmouth for America on the *Trident* on the 16th of April.[1]

Benjamin Vaughan sent Franklin the following minutes taken *memoriter* from Lord Shelburne's speech, March 6, 1778. (A. P. S.)

> "Not a time to talk about ministers inconsistency, but to explain our views.
>
> "The war must end, and troops be withdrawn: but no independence alluded to; for when that happens England's sun is set. — We must go back to as much of the connection as we can; and have "one friend, one enemy, one purse, and one superintendence of commerce." The mutual checks

[1] Jackson was suggested by William Eden who characterized him as "a man of uncommon abilities on American matters, and well beloved in the colonies." George III, however, wrote to Lord North, April 1, 1778, "I am very clear he ought not to be allowed to go." (Donne, Vol. II, p. 166.)

Jackson's sentiments may be gathered from the following sentence from a letter he addressed to William Eden (February 28, 1778).

"The Commencement of the American War always appeared to me an impolitic measure, the continuance of it cannot be less than Ruin to this Empire, & will be an Object that I cannot be near without an Anxiety that will be too much for me to bear."

Entered into a history of these treaties; and spoke of commercial treaties in general.

would be of mutual use. Commercial treaty of no avail, either to England or France; witness Bacon's intercursus magnus which in ten years was called intercursus malus; and Mr Methuens Portugal treaty —

"To make this go down with congress we must give Canada, Scotia, the lakes, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, The Floridas, and the Mississippi, to be governed by Congress, by name. In congress there are many honest & sagacious men. — If we are left with these stations, they [the congress] will have us waiting for their dissensions then to interfere; and we, on our part, shall have extent enough to swallow up our present force — which must not occupy where it is. The paltry governors and low views of patronage, must be given up: they never were useful, never could be well assorted. America will have the capital of our merchants; and a harmless king who might save a worse power being looked for among themselves. And this also joined by a thousand uses, privileges, and ties. — And when I made such proposals, I would seek dignified language, and soften all umbrageousness. I know what is to be urged on the other side, but I would say with Bacon, revenge is not infinite, and vindictive war goes not beyond the injury.

Had formerly planned to leave them to election of the people themselves in projected new settlements; as persons could be brought to their bar to prove.
But Mr Grenville over-ruled.
He found difficulties to get fit country gentlemen, sea officers or land officers to accept of governments.

"As I assent heartily to the matter of two of the bills, and shall let the other pass, I

must explain the vote. I dont like the preamble &c &c. [He went into a short discussion.] I shall when I vote thus, shew that I foresee the effects.

Talked about a rejection of an article in the treaty of Utrecht by parliament, which L^d. Bolingbroke had presumed to treat for, though relating to an act of parliament.

"When France comes abreast with us to congress, let us suppose that they state our merits in columns side by side; for it is lawful to learn method even from a rebel (Dr. Franklin.) In one column will come the offers of France, as we may conceive, fair and large. In the other will come the bill, as we see it offered by the minister — by the minister who starved, who tomahawked them, & who bribed their servants to cut their throats; who spread catholic despotism along one frontier, and plunder and prohibition on the other; who violated governments, refused petitions, and broke faith &c &c &c. And what hold has America in our country? Is it in parliament; which echoes and changes, as its leaders give the word and change? Is it in ministers, who are seen in minorities even when bringing inquiry upon the enormity of the east? Is it in the faith of ministers? There are countries where the word of ministers would be taken; in France and Austria, a Choiseul and a Kaunitz have refused to break theirs for a king; and the time has come when their kings have thanked them?

"But now to look at home. We have been told we are on the eve of war, and yet not one

step taken to prepare. We have just reprobated our navy. And what is the number of our allies? We have memorialized away the attachment of Holland; we have detached Portugal; and no one knows our standing in Germany; it is no longer the country of independent Barons; it is getting into 7 or 8 successions, and Germany & Prussia swallowing up the few that remain. When I read of the petition just voted by the city, I thought they might have summed up their intentions in the short words of the Spanish Statesman in Bacon to Philip. "For your majesty's comfort, you have upon earth but two enemies; one the whole world, the other your own ministers." Yet when I hear of the many millions assembled against us and the few for us, I know what is to be done by vigor. When Scotland was still separated, I remember the effect Clarendon states as produced by one man's vigor, Cromwell, upon Europe. Ministers may injure, and things be delayed, beyond redemption; but yet I say this; that we may not sink our spirit along with our hope.

"When the mention of independence comes from ministry, it is, in vulgar language, the thief that first robs and then fires the house in order to cover his escape. If America is independent, we must demand of ministers the blessings they have lost; for they received

every thing peaceable and safe. I well remember the attorney and solicitor generals testified under their hands the calm that had intervened. It is one cause of my objections to independence, that it will be impracticable to avoid having rendered to us shocking personal accounts.

"(N.B. Much extraneous matter occurred which is omitted. The Lords Mansfield, Hertford, Denbigh & Lord Bute's son were absent. I verily believe the believe was meant to unite some at home and divide America. It failed in the first, partly from its humility impracticability or ——; and when this was seen, it fell down upon the minister, and has become a derelict in both houses. People did not know their part; and had it been balloted might have been lost — Yet we are really tired of the war — and of the ministers."

The envoys recommended Congress to appoint a single plenipotentiary to the court of France. Congress revoked the commission by which the United States had been represented, and on the 28th of October, 1778, elected Franklin sole plenipotentiary.[1] Lafayette brought the new commission, credentials, and instructions, upon the 11th of February. Upon being invested with his new responsibilities, Franklin wrote to John Adams: "Dr. Franklin presents Compli-

[1] Pennsylvania was the only state that voted against Franklin. The adverse vote was the result of the influence of Roberdeau, whose chief argument was the association of William Temple Franklin with his grandfather.

ments to Mr. Adams and requests that all the Public Papers may be sent him by the Bearer. Dr. Franklin will undertake to keep them in order; and will at any time chearfully look for and furnish Mr. Adams with any Paper he may have occasion for." Immediately upon the receipt of this note Mr. Adams put all the public papers then in his possession into the hands of W. T. Franklin.

A similar letter was sent to Arthur Lee, who replied in very different tone, —

Chaillot, 21 February 1779.

Sir: — Your grandson delivered to me, between 10 and 12 o'clock on the 19th, your letter dated the 18th, in which you desire I will send by the bearer all the papers belonging to this department.

I have no papers belonging to the department of Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles. But if you mean, sir, the papers relating to the transactions of our late joint Commission, I am yet to learn and cannot conceive on what reason or authority any one of those who were formerly in that Commission can claim or demand possession of all the papers evidencing their transactions, in which, if they should appear to have been equally concerned, they are equally responsible.

Of these papers Mr. Deane, by his own account, has taken and secured such as he chose. The rest, a very few excepted, you have. Many of these I have never even seen, but have been favoured with copies. Of the few originals in my possession there are, I know, duplicates of the most part at Passy, because it was for that reason only that I took them. The rest are necessary evidence to answer Mr. Deane's accusations, which you know to be most base and false that ever the malice and wickedness of man invented.

If it were indeed agreed that all the papers belonging to our late Commission should be brought together, numbered, docketed and deposited where the late Commissioners, and they only, might have access to them, I would very readily contribute the few I have. But on no other terms can I part with them, and must therefore desire you to command me in some other service.

Still, however, I am in the judgement of Congress, and if upon our mutual representations, should you think it worth troubling them with it they should be of a different opinion, I shall abide by their decision and obey their orders.

I hope your gout is better, and have the honour to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

In addition to the diplomatic correspondence of the American Revolution and the private correspondence of the representatives of the United States there remain a few fragments of Franklin's diary from which some slight information may be obtained of the succession of events. Portions of the diary, from December 18, 1780, to January 29, 1781; and from June 26 to July 27, 1784, exist among the Franklin papers in the Library of Congress, and are here reprinted.

Dec. 18, 1780. — Consented in conversation with Mr. Grand that Mr. Williams, on being put in possession of the policies of insurance of the ship *Marquis de Lafayette*, for 200,000 livres, should draw on me for the freight to that amount.

Mr. Chaumont writes, pressing an advance of the money on security. Replied that if the security was such as the Congress banker approved of I would advance the sum.

Heard that transports are taking up here for America, and

that bank-bills in England had been counterfeited to a great amount.

Dec. 19th. — Went to Versailles at M. Vergennes; much was said to me in favour of M. de Chaumont's demand. It was owned that he had been wrong in demanding as a right what he ought to have asked as a favour; but that affairs among friends should not be transacted with rigour, but amicably and with indulgent allowances. I found I had been represented as unkindly exact in the business. I promised to do all in my power to make it easy to M. Chaumont. He came to me in the evening after my return, but with much heat against Mr. Grand, which I endeavoured to allay, as it was really very unjust. Offered him to accept his bills drawn on me, as the operation through Mr. Williams at Nantes would take too much time to suit with his exigencies. He said he would consult with his banker. Exclaimed much against the judgement at Nantes, etc.

Requested Mr. Grand to transfer out of the public cash the amount of the several balancies of my private accounts with the Congress, and give me credit for the same in my particular account.

Dec. 20th. — Certified, or, as they call it here, legalized, the papers relative to the taking a Portuguese ship by the *Mars* of Boston, and sent them to the Porto' ambass.

Accepted M. de Chaumont's drafts dated November 10 for the 200,000 livres freight at 4 usuances, and he gave me his engagement to return the money in case the ship *Marquis de Lafayette* did not arrive at L'Orient to take in our goods. Prince de Montbarey, Ministre de la Guerre, resigns. His successor not yet known.

Dec. 21st. — Wrote to M. de Chaumont pressingly for his

account with the Congress, that it may be settled now Mr. Deane is here.

M. de Segur succeeds the Prince de Montbarey.

Dec. 22d. — Received an account between Mr. Chaumont and Mr. Deane, which includes Congress artic [mutilated]; copy it, as it must be sent to Mr. Deane.

Dec. 23d. — Hear by letters from L'Orient of the departure of Capt. Jones in the *Ariel* on the 18th.

Dec. 24th. — Received Gourlade and Moylan's account of fresh expenses, upwards of £20,000, by Capt. Jones.

Two young Englishmen, Scot and Williams, would go to America; discouraged them.

Dec. 25th. — Gave an order to Mr. Grand to remit 150 sterling to Mr. Wm. Hodgson, London, for the relief of American prisoners.

Received information from a good hand that the G. Pensionaire had been with Sir J. Y., and acquainted him that an answer would be given to his memorials, but that it could not be precipitated contrary to the constitution; it was necessary to have the advice of the provinces.

The S. H. has behaved well in the resolution for arming.

The Duke A. G. C., the Pensionary of Amsterdam, a brave, steady man.

Dec. 26th. — Went to Versailles to assist at the ceremony of condolence on the death of the Empress Queen. All the foreign ministers in deep mourning, — flopped hats and crape, long black cloaks, etc. The Nuncio pronounced the compliments to the king and afterwards to the queen in her apartments. M. de Vergennes told me of the war declared by England against Holland. Visited at the new Ministers of War and Marine; neither of them at home. Much fa-

tigued by the going twice up and down the palace stairs, from the tenderness of my feet and weakness of my knees; therefore did not go the rounds. Declined dining with M. de Vergennes, as inconsistent with my present mode of living, which is simple, till I have recovered my strength. Took a partridge with M. de Chaumont. No news yet of Count d'Estaing.

Wednesday, 27th. — Much talk about the new war. Hear of the hurricane in the West Indies. English fleet under Admiral Darby put into port. Wrote to J. Williams, at Nantes, to send advice to America by every possible opportunity of the English declaration against Holland.

Thursday, 28th. — Mr. Grand has some time since carried an advance of my salary for one quarter (£15,000) out of the public monies, to my private account; and I afterwards gave him a receipt for that sum, which should have been mentioned before.

Friday, 29th. — Went by particular invitation to the Sorbonne, to an assembly of the Faculty of Physic in the College Hall, where we had the éloge of my friend M. Dubourg and other pieces. Suffered by the cold.

M. de Chaumont has [mutilated] J. Williams' draft on me for £428,000 on account of the cloth, but declined . . . why [? I know not why] presenting it. I ought to give him. . . . [line here mutilated, the only words legible are "Congress," "above," or "about," and "livres."]

Saturday, 30th. — Breakfasted at Mad. Brillon's. Received of Mr. Grand £4,800 on private account, which was put into the hands of W. T. Franklin to pay bills and family expenses.

Sunday ? 31st. — Much company at dinner; among

others, M. Perrier and M. Wilkinson, ingenious mechanicians. M. Romayne, of Hackinsack, in the Jerseys. No news.

Monday, Jan. 1, 1781. — News that an expedition is on foot against Jersey and Guernsey, some frigates with transports and 2,500 men having sailed from Granville the 26th past.

Mr. Dana is returned from Holland, which he left the beginning of last month. Mr. Adams remains there, who writes me December 1st that there is little or no hopes of a loan.

Tuesday, Jan. 2d. — Went to Versailles. No foreign ministers there but one or two; the rest having been there yesterday. Visited the new Secretary at War, who was very polite. Wrote to M. de Castries, Minister of the Marine. Not strong enough to go up to M. de Maurepas. Visited M. Le Roy and dined with M. and Mad. de Renneval. News of disappointment of Jersey expedition. Wind and tide contrary [mutilated, the word "Etres" only visible] the offices in part.

Wednesday, Jan. 3d. — Letters from Holland. The Dutch seem not to have known on the 28th past that war was actually declared against them. Informed here that the English court has sent copies of the papers taken with Mr. Laurens to the northern courts, with aggravated complaints against the States-General; and that the States had also sent their justification. Important news expected by the return of the courier.

Thursday, Jan. 4th. — Learnt that the states had given orders for building 100 ships of war. Gave an order on Mr. Grand [mutilated; qr. "for"] paying Sabbatier's balance, the sum £3,526 18 6 being for carriage of the clothing.

Friday, Jan. 5th. — Signed recommendation, to the ministers, of M. de La Neuville, officer formerly in the American Service.

Saturday, Jan. 6th. — Accepted a number of loan-office bills this day and every day of the past week. No news yet of Count D'Estaing, which begins to give great uneasiness, as his fleet was not provided for so long a voyage.

Sunday, Jan. 7th. — News of the safe arrival of Count D'Estaing at Brest; more accounts of the terrible hurricane in the West Indies. Accepted a vast number of loan-office bills. Some of the new drafts begin to appear.

Monday, Jan. 8th. — Accepted many bills. Hear from Holland that they had but just received news of the declaration of war against them; and that the English church was burnt at the Hague, unknown by what means.

Tuesday, 9th. — Count D'Estaing arrives at Passy. Hear of ships arrived at L'Orient from America. No letters come up. Indisposed and did not go to court.

Wednesday, 10th. — Letters arrived from Philadelphia. Reports there of advantages gained to the southward; and that Leslie had quitted Virginia. Informed that my recall is to be moved for in Congress. News that the troops have made good their landing in Jersey and taken all but the castle.

Thursday, 11th. — Gave Mr. Dana copies of the letters between M. de Sartine and me concerning Mr. Dalton's affair. Proposed to him to examine the public accounts now while Mr. Deane was here, which he declined.

Friday, 12th. — Sign acceptation [qu. "of"; mutilated] many bills. They come thick.

Saturday, Jan. 13th. — Learn that there is a violent com-

motion in Holland; that the people are violently exasperated against the English; have thrown some into the canals; and those merchants of Amsterdam who have been known to favour them, dare not appear in the streets; that the return of their express to Russia brings good accounts of the favourable disposition of the Empress.

Sunday, Jan. 14th. — Mr. Grand acquaints me that he learns from Mr. Cotin, banker of M. de Chaumont, that the *Marquis de Lafayette* will be stopped by creditors of M. de Chaumont unless 50,000 crowns are advanced, and submitted it to my consideration whether I had not better buy the ship.

Vexed with the long delay on so many frivolous pretences, and seeing no end to them, and fearing to embarrass myself still further in affairs that I do not understand, I took at once the resolution of offering our contract for that ship to the government, to whom I hoped it might be agreeable to have her as a transport, as our goods would not fill her, she being gauged at 1,200 tons. Accordingly I requested Mr. Grand to go to Versailles and to propose it to M. de Vergennes.

Monday, Jan. 15th. — Signed an authority to Mr. Bonfield to administer [mutilated] oath of allegiance to the United States to Mr. Vaughan.

Accepted above 200 bills, some of the new.

Mr. Grand calls on his return from Versailles, and acquaints me that Mr. Vergennes desires the proposition may be reduced to writing. Mr. Grand has accordingly made a draft, which he presented for my approbation.

Tuesday, Jan. 16th. — Went to Versailles and performed all the ceremonies, though with difficulty, my feet being still tender.

Left the pacquets for Mr. Jay with M. de Renneval, who promised to send them with the next courier.

Presented Mr. Grand's paper to M. de Vergennes, who told me he would try to arrange that matter for me. I acquainted M. de Chaumont with [mutilated] step [qu. "with the step,"] who did not seem to approve of it.

Heard of the ill success of the troops in Jersey, who were defeated the same day they landed: 150 killed, 200 wounded, and the rest taken prisoners.

Wednesday, Jan. 17th. — Accepted many bills and wrote some letters.

Thursday, Jan. 18th. — Mr. Grand informs me that he has been at Versailles and spoken with M. de Vergennes and M. de Renneval; that the minister declined the proposition of taking the vessel on account of the government, but kindly offered to advance me the £150,000 if I chose to pay that sum. He brought me also the project of an engagement drawn up by Mr. Cotin, by which I was to promise that payment, and he and Co. were to permit the vessel to depart. He left this paper for my consideration.

Friday, Jan. 19th. — Considering this demand of Messrs. Cotin and Jauge as an imposition, I determined not to submit to it, and wrote my reasons.

Relieved an American captain with five guineas to help him to L'Orient.

Saturday, Jan. 20th. — Gave a pass to a Bristol merchant to go to Spain. He was recommended to me as having been a great friend to American prisoners. His name [nothing has been written here apparently].

Sunday, Jan. 21st. — Mr. Jauge comes to talk with me about the ship, and intimated that if I refused to advance

the £150,000 I should not only be deprived of the ship, but lose the freight I had advanced. I absolutely refused to comply.

Monday, Jan. 22d. — Mr. Grand informs me that Mr. Williams has drawn on me for 25,000 livres to enable him to pay returned acceptances of M. de Chaumont. I ordered payment of his drafts. Received a letter from Mr. Williams and wrote an answer, which letters explained this affair.

Letter from M. de Chaumont informing me he had received remittances from America. I congratulated him.

Tuesday, Jan. 23d. — Went to court and performed all the round of levees, though with much pain and difficulty, through the tenderness and feebleness of my feet and knees. M. Vergennes is ill and unable to hold long conferences. I dined there and had some conversation with M. Renneval, who told me I had misunderstood the proposition of advancing the 150,000 livres, or it had not been rightly represented to me; that it was not expected of me to advance more for M. de Chaumont; that the advance was to have been made by M. de Vergennes, etc. I see clearly, however, that the paper offered me to sign by Messrs. Cotin & Co., would have engaged me to be accountable for it. Had some conference with the Nuncio, who seemed inclined to encourage American vessels to come to the ecclesiastical state, acquainting me they had two good ports to receive us, Civita Vecchia and Ancona, where there was a good deal of business done, and we should find good vente for our fish, etc. Hear I [no words legible].

Wednesday, Jan. 24th. — A great number of bills. Visit at M. de Chaumont's in the evening; found him cold and dry. Received a note from Mr. Searle, acquainting me with

his [mutilated] sal [qu. dismissal, or arrival] from Holland on Saturday last.

Thursday, Jan. 25th. — Hear that M. de Chaumont pays again, being enabled by his remittances [mutilated] bills. Holland begins to move, and gives great encouragement [mutilated] turning. M. de L' [mutilated] comes to see me, and demands breakfast; chear [cheerful?] and frank. Authorize Mr. Grand to pay the balance of Messrs. Jay's and Carmichael's salaries, and Mr. Digges's bill.

Friday, Jan. 26th. — Went to Paris to visit Princess Daschkaw; not at home. Visit Prince and Princess Masserano. He informs me that he despatches a messenger [a word or two obliterated] on Tuesday. Visit Duke de Rochefoucauld and Madame la Duchesse d'Enville. Visit Messrs. Dana and Searle; not at home. Leave invitations to dine with me on Sunday. Visit Comte d'Estaing; not at home. Mr. Turgot; not at home. Accept bills.

Saturday, Jan. 27th. — Write to Madrid, and answer all Mr. Jay's and Mr. Carmichael's letters received during my illness.

Sunday, Jan. 28th. — Mr. Dana comes; Mr. Searle excuses himself. Invite him for Tuesday.

Monday, Jan. 29th. — Hear of the arrival of the *Duke of Leinster*, with Mr. Ross, at Philadelphia, which gives me great pleasure, as she had much cloth, etc., for the Congress. Despatched my letters for Madrid.

Passy, June 26th, 1784. — Mr. Walterstorf called on me, and acquainted me with a Duel that had been fought yesterday Mor[e], between a French Officer [1] and a Swedish Gentleman of that king's Suite, in which the latter was killed on

[1] The Count de la Marck.

the Spot, and the other dangerously wounded;—that the king does not resent it, as he thinks his Subject was in the Wrong.

He asked me if I had seen the king of Sweden? I had not yet had that Honor. He said his Behaviour here was not liked; that he took little Notice of his own Ambassador, who being acquainted with the usages of this court, was capable of advising him, but was not consulted. That he was always talking of himself, and vainly boasting of *his* Revolution, tho' it was known to have been the work of M. de Vergennes. That they began to be tired of him here, and wish'd him gone: but he propos'd staying till the 12th July. That he had now laid aside his Project of invading Norway, as he found Denmark had made Preparations to receive him. That he pretended the Danes had designed to invade Sweden, tho' it was a known fact, that the Danes had made no Military Preparations, even for Defence, till Six Months after his began. I asked if it was clear that he had had an Intention to invade Norway. He said that the marching and disposition of his Troops, and the Fortifications he had erected, indicated it very plainly. He added, that Sweden was at present greatly distress'd for Provisions; that many People had actually died of Hunger! That it was reported the king came here to borrow Money, and to offer to sell Gottenburgh to France; a thing not very probable.

M. Dussaulx called, and said, it is reported there is an alliance treating between the Emperor of Austria, Russia, and England; the Purpose not known; and that a counter-alliance is propos'd between France, Prussia, and Holland, in which it is suppos'd Spain will join. He added that

Changes in the Ministry are talked of; that there are Cabals against M. de Vergennes; that M. de Calonne is to be *Garde des Sceaux*, with some other Rumours, fabricated perhaps at the *Palais Royal.*

June 29. — Mr. Hammond, Sec^{y}. to Mr. Hartley, call'd to tell me that Mr. Hartley had not received any Orders by the last Courier, either to stay or return, which he had expected; and that he thought it occasioned by their Uncertainty what Terms of Commerce to propose, 'till the Report of the Committee of Council was laid before Parliament, and its Opinion known; and that he looked on the Delay of writing to him as a sign of their intending to do something.

He told me it was reported that the king of Sweden had granted the free use of Gottenburg as a Port for France, which alarmed the neighbouring Powers. That in time of War, the Northern Coast of England might be much endanger'd by it.

June 30*th.* — M. Dupont, Inspector of Commerce, came to talk with me about the free Port of L'Orient, and some Difficulties respecting it; I referr'd him to Mr. Barclay, an American Merchant and Com^{r} for Accounts; and as he said he did not well understand English when spoken, and Mr. Barclay did not speak French, I offer'd my Grandson to accompany him as Interpreter, which he accepted.

I asked him whether the Spaniards from the Continent of America did not trade to the French Sugar Islands? He said not. The only Commerce with the Spaniards was for Cattle between them and the French at St. Domingo. I had been told the Spaniards brought Flour to the French Islands from the Continent. He had not heard of it. If we can find that such a Trade is allow'd (perhaps from the Miss-

issippi), have not the U. States a Claim by Treaty to the same Privilege?

July 1st. — The Pope's Nuncio called, and acquainted me that the Pope had, on my Recommendation, appointed Mr. John Carroll, Superior of the Catholic Clergy in America, with many of the Powers of a Bishop; and that probably he would be made a Bishop *in partibus* before the End of the Year. He asked me which would be most convenient for him, to come to France, or go to St. Domingo, for Ordination by another Bishop, which was necessary. I mentioned Quebec as more convenient than either. He asked whether, as that was an English Province, our Government might not take Offence at his going there? I thought not, unless the Ordination by that Bishop should give him some Authority over our Bishop. He said, not in the least; that when our Bishop was once ordained, he would be independent of the others, and even of the Pope; which I did not clearly understand. He said the Congregation *de Propagandâ Fidei* had agreed to receive, and maintain and instruct, two young Americans in the Languages and Sciences at Rome; (he had formerly told me that more would be educated *gratis* in France). He told me, they had written from America that there are 20 Priests, but that they are not sufficient; as the new Settlements near the Mississippi have need of some.

The Nuncio said we should find, that the Catholics were not so intolerant as they had been represented; that the Inquisition in Rome had not now so much Power as that in Spain; and that in Spain it was used chiefly as a Prison of State. That the Congregation would have undertaken the Education of more American youths, and may hereafter, but that at present they are overburthened, having some

from all parts of the World: He spoke lightly of their new Convert Thayer's (of Boston) Conversion; that he had advised him not to go to America, but settle in France. That he wanted to go to convert his Countrymen; but he knew nothing yet of his new Religion himself, &c.[1]

Rec[d] a Letter from Mr. Bridgen of London, dated the 22d past, acquainting me that the Council of the Royal Society had voted me a Gold Medal, on acc[t] of my Letter in favor of Capt. Cook.[2] Lord Howe had sent me his Journal, 3 vols. 4to, with a large Volume of Engravings, on the same Acct., and as he writes "*with the King's Approbation.*"

[1] See Vol. IX, p. 303.

[2] The gold medal had been struck in recognition of the aid given to Captain Cook by the king of England, and the empress of Russia. Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, wrote to Franklin, August 13, 1784 (U. of P.):—

"DEAR SIR

"Willing as much as is in my Power to Clear the R. Society & myself from our share of the charge of Illiberal treatment towards you with which I fear this Countrey may too justly be accusd, I take my Pen with no small Pleasure to inform you that I am instructed by the Council of the Royal Society to Present to you in their name the Gold medal they have struck in honour of Cap[tn] Cook as a testimony how truly they respect those liberal sentiments which induced you when his return to Europe was expected to Issue your orders to such American Cruizers as were then under your direction to abstain from molesting that great Circumnavigator an act worthy those sentiments of General Philanthropy by which I have observed your Conduct was actuated since I have had the honour of your acquaintance at the same time give me leave to Congratulate you on the honorable manner in which you received a Copy of Cap[tn] Cooks voyage sent to you by his Britanic Majesties orders as a testimony of his Royal approbation of the same liberal Conduct.

"As I suppose you would wish to know to whom you are obliged for the representation which induced his Majesty to send it I can inform you that it was L[d] Howe, when I, who by desire of the admiralty conducted the General Business of that Publication reported the names of those to whom Presents of the work ought in my opinion to be sent I did not venture to insert your name in the List but when L[d] Howe on hearing my reasons for sending one

July 3d. — Mr. Smeathman comes and brings two English or Scotch Gentlemen; one a Chevalier of some Order, the other a Physician who had lived long in Russia. Much Conversation. Putrid Fevers common in Russia, and in Winter much more than in Summer; therefore supposed to be owing to their hot Rooms. In a gentleman's House there are sometimes one hundred domestics; these have not beds, but sleep twenty or thirty in a close room warmed by a stove, lying on the floor and on benches. The stoves are heated by wood. As soon as it is burnt to coals, the chimney is stopped to prevent the escape of hot and entry of cold air. So they breathe the same air over and over again all night. These fevers he cured by wrapping the patient in linen wet with vinegar, and making them breathe the vapor of vinegar thrown on hot bricks. The Russians have the art of distilling spirit from milk. To prepare it for distillation it must, when beginning to sour, be kept in continual motion or agitation for twelve hours; it then becomes a uniform vinous liquor, the cream, curd, and aqueous part or whey, all intimately mixed. Excellent in this state for restoring emaciated bodies. This operation on milk was discovered long since by the Tartars, who in their rambling life often carry milk in leather bags on their horses, and the motion produced the effect. It may be tried with us by attaching a large keg of milk to some part of one of our mills.

July 6. — Directed W. T. F., who goes to Court, to mention 3 Things at the Request of M. Barclay. The *main levée*

to his most Christian Majesty approvd of them in warm Terms I thought it proper to acquaint him that you had an equal right to the same compliment a circumstance of which he was ignorant on which his Lordship of his own mere motion & without hesitation ordered your name to be inserted in the List & obtain[d] his Majesties Royal assent with a little difficulty."

of the arrested Goods, the port of L'Orient, and the Consular Convention; which he did. The Port is fix'd, and the Convention preparing. Hear that Gottenburg is to be a free Port for France, where they may assemble Northern Stores, &c.

Mr. Hammond came and din'd with me. He acquaints me, from Mr. Hartley, that no Instructions are yet come from England. Mr. Hartley is lame.

July 7. — A very hot Day. Receiv'd a Visit from the Secretary of the King of Sweden, M. Frank, accompanied by the Secretary of the Embassy.

July 8. — M. Franke dines with me, in Company with Mad. Helvétius, Abbé de la Roche, M. Cabanis, and an American captain. The king of Sweden does not go to England. The Consul did not come.

July 10*th*. — Mr. Grand came to propose my dining with the Swedish Court at his House, which is next door, and I consented. While he was with me, the consul came. We talked about the Barbary powers; they are four, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He informed me that Salee, the principal port belonging to the Emperor of Morocco, had formerly been famous for corsairs. That this prince had discouraged them, and in 1768 published an edict declaring himself in peace with all the world, and forbade their cruising any more, appointing him consul for those Christian states who had none in his country. That Denmark pays him 25,000 *piastres fortes* yearly, in money; Sweden is engaged to send an ambassador every two years with presents; and the other powers buy their peace in the same manner, except Spain and the Italian states, with whom they have constant war. That he is consul for Sardinia and Prussia,

for whom he procured treaties of peace. That he proposed a peace for Russia; but that, the Emperor having heard that Russia was going to war with his brother, the Grand Seignior, he refused it.

M. Audibert Caille, the consul, thinks it shameful for Christendom to pay tribute to such *canaille*, and proposes two ways of reducing the barbarians to peace with all Europe, and obliging them to quit their piratical practices. They have need of many articles from Europe, and of a vent for their superfluous commodities. If therefore all Europe would agree to refuse any commerce with them but on condition of their quitting piracy, and such an agreement could be faithfully observed on our part, it would have its effect upon them. But, if any one power would continue the trade with them, it would defeat the whole. There was another method he had projected, and communicated in a memorial to the court here, by M. de Rayneval; which was, that France should undertake to suppress their piracies and give peace to all Europe, by means of its influence with the Porte. For, all the people of these states being obliged by their religion to go at times in caravans to Mecca, and to pass through the Grand Seignior's dominions, who gives them escorts of troops through the desert, to prevent their being plundered and perhaps massacred by the Arabs, he could refuse them passage and protection but on condition of their living peaceably with the Europeans, &c. He spoke of Montgomery's transaction, and of Crocco, who, he understands, was authorized by the court. The barbarians, he observed, having no commercial ships at sea, had vastly the advantage of the Europeans; for one could not make reprisals on their trade. And it has long been my opinion,

that, if the European nations, who are powerful at sea, were to make war upon us Americans, it would be better for us to renounce commerce in our own bottoms, and convert them all into cruisers. Other nations would furnish us with what we wanted, and take off our produce. He promised me a note of the commerce of Barbary, and we are to see each other again, as he is to stay here a month.

Dined at Mr. Grand's, with the Swedish gentlemen. They were M. Rosenstein, secretary of the embassy, and ——, with whom I had a good deal of conversation relating to the commerce possible between our two countries. I found they had seen at Rome Charles Stuart, the *Pretender*. They spoke of his situation as very hard; that France, who had formerly allowed him a pension, had withdrawn it, and that he sometimes almost wanted bread!

July 11th. — M. Walterstorf called. He hears that the agreement with Sweden respecting the port of Gottenburg is not likely to be concluded; that Sweden wanted an island in the West Indies in exchange. I think she is better without it.

July 13th. — MM. Mirabeau and Champfort came and read their translation of (American) Mr. Burke's pamphlet against the Cincinnati,[1] which they have much enlarged, intending it as a covered satire against *noblesse* in general. It is well done. There are also remarks on the last letter of General Washington on that subject. They say General Washington missed a *beau moment*, when he accepted to be of that society (which some affect to call an *order*). The same of the Marquis de la Fayette.

[1] A pamphlet by Ædanus Burke, of South Carolina, entitled "Considerations upon the Order of the Cincinnati." — ED.

July 14th. — Mr. Hammond calls to acquaint me, that Mr. Hartley is still without any instructions relating to the treaty of commerce; and supposes it occasioned by their attention to the India bill. I said to him, "Your court and this seem to be waiting for one another, with respect to the American trade with your respective islands. You are both afraid of doing too much for us, and yet each wishes to do a little more than the other. You had better have accepted our generous proposal at first, to put us both on the same footing of free intercourse that existed before the war. You will make some narrow regulations, and then France will go beyond you in generosity. You never see your follies till too late to mend them." He said, Lord Sheffield was continually exasperating the Parliament against America. He had lately been publishing an account of loyalists murdered there, &c. Probably invented.

Thursday, July 15th. — The Duke de Chartres's balloon went off this morning from St. Cloud, himself and three others in the gallery. It was foggy, and they were soon out of sight. But, the machine being disordered, so that the trap or valve could not be opened to let out the expanding air, and fearing that the balloon would burst, they cut a hole in it, which ripped larger, and they fell rapidly, but received no harm. They had been a vast height, met with a cloud of snow, and a tornado, which frightened them.

Friday, 16th. — Received a letter from two young gentlemen[1] in London, who are come from America for ecclesiastical orders, and complain that they have been delayed there a year, and that the Archbishop will not permit them to be ordained unless they will take the oath of allegiance; and

[1] Messrs. Gant and Weemes. See Vol. IX, p. 238.

desiring to know if they may be ordained here. Inquired, and learned that, if ordained here, they must vow obedience to the Archbishop of Paris. Directed my grandson to ask the Nuncio, if their bishop in America might not be instructed to do it literally?

Saturday, 17th. — The Nuncio says the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Roman Catholics. Wrote them an answer.

Sunday, 18th. — A good abbé brings me a large manuscript containing a scheme of reformation of all churches and states, religion, commerce, laws, &c., which he has planned in his closet, without much knowledge of the world. I have promised to look it over, and he is to call next Thursday. It is amazing the number of legislators that kindly bring me new plans for governing the United States.

Monday, July 19th. — Had the Americans at dinner, with Mr. White and Mr. Arbuthnot from England. The latter was an officer at Gibraltar during the late siege. He says the Spaniards might have taken it; and that it is now a place of no value to England. That its supposed use as a port for a fleet, to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, is chimerical. That while the Spaniards are in possession of Algeziras, they can with their gun-boats, in the use of which they are grown very expert, make it impossible for any fleet to lie there.

Tuesday, 20th. — My grandson went to court. No news there, except that the Spanish fleet against Algiers is sailed. Receive only one American letter by the packet, which is from the College of Rhode Island, desiring me to solicit benefactions of the King, which I cannot do, for reasons which I shall give them. It is inconceivable why I have no

letters from Congress. The treaties with Denmark, Portugal, &c., all neglected! Mr. Hartley makes the same complaint. He is still without orders. Mr. Hammond called and dined with me; says Mr. Pitt begins to lose his popularity; his new taxes, and project about the *navy bills*, give great discontent. He has been burnt in effigy at York. His East India bill not likely to go down; and it is thought he cannot stand long. Mr. Hammond is a friend of Mr. Fox; whose friends, that have lost their places, are called *Fox's Martyrs*.

Wednesday, July 21. — Count de Haga[1] sends his card to take leave. M. Grand tells me he has bought here my bust with that of M. D'Alembert or Diderot, to take with him to Sweden. He set out last night.

Thursday, 22*d*. — Lord Fitzmaurice, son of Lord Shelburne, arrives; brought me sundry letters and papers.

He thinks Mr. Pitt in danger of losing his majority in the House of Commons, though great at present; for he will not have wherewithal to pay them. I said, that governing by a Parliament which must be bribed, was employing a very expensive machine, and that the people of England would in time find out, though they had not yet, that, since the Parliament must always do the will of the minister, and be paid for doing it, and the people must find the money to pay them, it would be the same thing in effect, but much cheaper, to be governed by the minister at first hand, without a Parliament. Those present seemed to think the reasoning clear. Lord Fitzmaurice appears a sensible, amiable young man.

Tuesday, 27*th*. — Lord Fitzmaurice called to see me. His

[1] The king of Sweden.

father having requested that I would give him such instructive hints as might be useful to him, I occasionally mentioned the old story of Demosthenes' answer to one who demanded what was the first point of oratory. *Action.* The second? *Action.* The third? *Action.* Which, I said, had been generally understood to mean the action of an orator with his hands, &c., in speaking; but that I thought another kind of action of more importance to an orator, who would persuade people to follow his advice, viz. such a course of action in the conduct of life, as would impress them with an opinion of his integrity as well as of his understanding; that, this opinion once established, all the difficulties, delays, and oppositions, usually occasioned by doubts and suspicions, were prevented; and such a man, though a very imperfect speaker, would almost always carry his points against the most flourishing orator, who had not the character of sincerity. To express my sense of the importance of a good private character in public affairs more strongly, I said the advantage of having it, and the disadvantage of not having it, were so great, that I even believed, if George the Third had had a bad private character, and John Wilkes a good one, the latter might have turned the former out of his kingdom. Lord Shelburne, the father of Lord Fitzmaurice, has unfortunately the character of being *insincere;* and it has hurt much his usefulness; though, in all my concerns with him, I never saw any instance of that kind.

John Adams declared that Franklin's reputation was more universal than that of Leibnitz or Newton, Frederick or Voltaire; and his character more beloved and esteemed than

any or all of them. Surely there never lived a man more idolized. Everything about him was imitated and extolled, — his spectacles, his marten fur cap, his brown coat, his bamboo cane. Men carried their canes and their snuffboxes *à la Franklin*, women crowned him with flowers, and every patrician house in Paris showed a Franklin portrait on the wall, and a Franklin stove in one of the apartments. Busts were made of him in Sevres China, set in a blue stone with gold border, and barrels of miniatures made of the clay from Chaumont found eager purchasers. When Voltaire and Franklin kissed each other in the hall of the Academy, the enthusiastic sages and tribunes thundered their applause, — "Behold Solon and Sophocles embrace." [1]

His fame was almost as great elsewhere in Europe as in France. He was elected to membership in learned societies from Russia to Spain. He was appointed one of the eight foreign associates of the "Academie des Sciences," an honour only once repeated in the history of America, and he was one of the four commissioners of that august and learned Society. He was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences of Padua (April 26, 1782), of Turin (July 28, 1783), of La Société Royale de Physique d'Histoire Naturelle et des Arts d'Orleans (April 5, 1785), of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid (July 9, 1784), of Rotterdam (Bataafsch

[1] Franklin was present at the Apotheosis of Voltaire at the lodge of the Neuf Sœurs, of which he was a member. It was said that if jealousy could enter the hearts of Free Masons all the lodges in Paris would envy Neuf Sœurs the honour of possessing Franklin as a member.

Franklin presented his grandson to Voltaire, who said to him, "Love God and liberty." Governor Hutchinson was dining with Lord Mansfield when the latter told this anecdote. Hutchinson observed that it was difficult to say which of those two words had been most used to bad purposes — "His Lordship seemed pleased with my remark."

Genootschap der Proefondervindelijke Wijsbegeerte), in 1771, foreign member of Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften at Göttingen, 1766.

Franklin's vast European reputation rested primarily upon his scientific achievement. The eighteenth century was restlessly curious about natural phenomena, audacious in its inquiry, and sceptical in philosophical speculation. It recognized and welcomed in Franklin a sagacious, clear-sighted observer who had explored strange worlds of thought, and wrung new and tremendous secrets from nature's close reserve. The mind of Europe, pondering with all the intensity of fresh enthusiasm upon natural science, was thrilled and amazed by the magnitude and meaning of his researches. He became, in a world enamoured of natural science, the object of universal interest and admiration. Artists painted him with lightnings playing in the background of the picture, or lighting up his benign features. Condorcet addressed him as the modern Prometheus; and men of learning, the foremost in their professions, modestly solicited his explication of old problems and his judgment upon new theories.

The audacity of eighteenth-century thought was not confined to natural science. The spirit of the age interrogated the social order, tested its foundations, sank its probe deep into the crumbling substance of government and found only decay. What seemed so firmly based as to endure forever was built on stubble. Through law, religion, letters, politics, a subtle poison had diffused itself, and rank corruption mining all within infected unseen. The outside was fair and tranquil: ancient glories shone upon a radiant Versailles; Lucullus feasts were daily given; gay and silken throngs chattered in the dazzling halls of palaces; red-heeled courtiers dined and

danced; while here and there, in town and country, men who had drunk bitter draughts of penury and despair saw upon the horizon images of portentous things to come.

Filangieri relentlessly examined the European systems of law, civil and criminal, and at each step of his progress turned to Franklin for direction. Lorenzo Manini created the Cisalpine Republic, and leaned upon the encouraging arm of Franklin. The *Physiocrats*, Dupont de Nemours, Dubourg, Mirabeau, Turgot, Morellet, and the venerable apostle, Quesnai, were strengthened by the presence of Franklin in their speculative group.

The great epigram created by the good Turgot — Eripuit caelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis — explains the incredible, almost fabulous, popularity in which Franklin was held in Europe. He was the living presence of the new age, the incarnation of democracy, the successful antagonist of tyrants, the builder of happy states founded upon freedom and justice. With whatsoever modesty he disclaimed the honour of Turgot's epigram, the world persisted in imputing to him alone the creation of the Republic and the triumphant leadership of the "dear insurgents."

He was as unconscious as any fair dame or giddy courtier, "born to bloom and drop," of the strong current whose compulsive course was carrying the nation rapidly and irresistibly to ruin. During his residence in Paris he enjoyed familiar intercourse and in some instances close communion with those who in another decade, in the wild delirium of the Revolution, were to be first in the ranks of death. Elsewhere in these volumes is printed a letter to him from an obscure young notary in Arras, destined to a sinister history. At the mention of his name — Robespierre — the long bright day of

French regal splendour wanes, and the mutter of the coming storm disturbs the air. Frequently, Franklin received letters from a zealous experimenter in science who, withholding his true name, signed himself "the Representative." He who was then inquiring scientifically into the nature of flame was soon to play with wilder fire and help to kindle the most tremendous conflagration in history. It was Jean Paul Marat.

Another friend, a physician, associated with Franklin in the investigation and exposure of the charlatan Mesmer, divulged to him his project of establishing himself and his friends in a settlement upon the Ohio River. His friends actually wandered to America, but he remained to play a part in the Revolution and to see his name — Guillotin — given to that

> "Patent reaper whose sheaves sleep sound
> In dreamless garners under ground."

The enthusiasm for *le grand Franklin* became a passion, became idolatry. He bore it all with composure; his serenity was undisturbed by flattery, his confidence undaunted by disaster. He received the tidings of misfortune with a smile and a jest. "Howe has taken Philadelphia," mourned Paris. "No," said Franklin, "Philadelphia has taken Howe." His cheer and confidence became the encouragement and the inspiration of France. When rumours of disaster circulated in the ports of France, the Frenchmen who came to condole with *Père Franklin* found the patriarch philosophically calm and confident. To all such reports he replied, "*ça ira, ça ira*" — "it will go on!" And when dark days came for France, in the wild days of the Terror, and men despaired of everything, they remembered the serenity of the

great American, and they repeated to each other until the repetition became a watchword of hope and courage and endurance — "*ça ira, ça ira.*"

Amid all the great life of the court and the *salon*, he was never neglectful of his smaller duties and humbler affairs. His mind was capacious of both. He placed his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, and the grandson of his old friend Samuel Cooper at school in Geneva in the care of M. Marignac and examined the reports of their progress and attended to their small necessities with the same care that he devoted to the grave affairs of state. Elsewhere in this work his letters of advice and encouragement to William Temple Franklin are printed. At this point it may not be inappropriate to insert a letter of like character written by him to Samuel Cooper Johonnot, his Boston friend's grandson.

TO SAMUEL COOPER JOHONNOT (P. H. S.)

Passy, Jan. ɪ 7. 1782.

My dear young Friend.

I received your kind good Wishes of a Number of happy Years for me. I have already enjoy'd and consum'd nearly the whole of those allotted me, being now within a few Days of my 78th. — You have a great many before you; and their being happy or otherwise will depend upon your own Conduct. If by diligent Study now, you improve your Mind, and practice carefully hereafter the Precepts of Religion and Virtue, you will have in your favour the Promise respecting the Life that now is, as well as that which is to come. You will possess true Wisdom, which is nearly allied to Happiness: *Length of Days are in her right-hand, and in her left hand*

Riches and Honours; all her Ways are Ways of Pleasantness, and all her Paths are Peace! —

I am glad to hear that you are entitled to a Prize. It will be pleasing News to your Friends in New England, that you have behav'd so as to deserve it. I pray God to bless you, and render you a Comfort to them and an Honour to your Country. I am,

Your affectionate Friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

CHAPTER IX

FINANCING THE REVOLUTION

WHEN the joint commission was annulled, John Adams returned in the spring of 1779 to America. In a few months Arthur and William Lee and Ralph Izard, who had stayed on in Paris promoting strife and teasing Franklin with many petty annoyances, were commanded to return. Franklin enjoyed a free hand and some tranquil moments until John Adams was again sent to Europe in February, 1780, to represent Congress in any possible negotiations for peace. Adams was restive under restraint, and he was jealous of Franklin's superior authority. He committed the indiscretion of writing long and impertinent letters to Count de Vergennes without consulting Franklin. After vainly reminding him that there was but one American plenipotentiary in Paris and therefore but one person with whom the government could discuss questions of policy, the Count de Vergennes sent the entire correspondence to Franklin with a request that it should be

transmitted to Congress. Franklin's letters to De Vergennes and Adams are found in Vol. VIII, pp. 117, 118, 123, 147, 148. The letter from Adams to Vergennes referred to in that correspondence is as follows:—

Paris July 27th 1780

Sir,

Since my Letter of the Twenty first; and upon reading over again your Excellency's Letter to me of the Twentieth, I observed one Expression which I think it my Duty to consider more particularly.

The Expression I have in view is this, That the King, without being sollicited by the Congress, had taken measures the most efficacious, to sustain the American Cause.

Upon this Part of your Letter, I must entreat your Excellency to recollect, that the Congress did, as long ago as the year Seventeen hundred and seventy six, before Dr. Franklin was sent off for France, instruct him, Mr Deane, and Lee, to sollicit the king for Six Ships of the Line: and I have reason to believe that the Congress have been from that moment to this persuaded that the object has been constantly solicited by their Ministers at this Court.

In addition to this, I have every personal as well as public motive, to recall to your Excellency's Recollection, a Letter or Memorial which was presented to your Excellency in the Latter end of the month of December Seventeen Hundred and seventy eight, or the beginning of January Seventeen Hundred and seventy nine, in which a great variety of arguments were adduced to show, that it was not only good Policy, but absolutely necessary to send a Superiority of naval force to the Coasts of the Continent of America. This Letter together

with your Excellency's Answer acknowledging the receipt of it, I transmitted to Congress myself, and their Journals show that they received them near a year ago; So that the Congress, I am persuaded, rest in the most perfect Security in the persuasion that everything has been done by themselves, and their Servants at this Court to obtain this measure and that the necessary arrangements of the King's naval service have hitherto prevented it.

But was it only Suspected by Congress, that a direct application from them to the King, was expected, I am assured they would not hesitate a moment to make it.

I am so convinced by experience, of the absolute necessity of more Consultations and communications between His Majesty's Ministers, and the Ministers of Congress, *that I am determined to omit no Opportunity of communicating my Sentiments to your Excellency, upon everything that appears to me of Importance to the common Cause, in which I can do it with propriety. And the Communications shall be* DIRECT IN PERSON, *or by Letter, to your Excellency,* WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION OF ANY THIRD PERSON. And I shall be very happy, and think myself highly honored, to give my poor Opinion and Advice to his Majesty's Ministers, upon anything that relates to the United States, or the common Cause, whenever they shall be asked.

I wish I may be mistaken, but it could answer no good purpose to deceive myself; and I certainly will not disguise my Sentiments from your Excellency. I think that Admiral Graves, with the Ships before in America, will be able to impede the Operations of M. Le Chev.r de Ternay, of M. Le Comte de Rochambeau and of General Washington, if their Plan is to attack New York.

If there should be a Naval Battle between Chev^r de Ternay and Admiral Graves the event is uncertain. From the near equality of Force and the equality of Bravery, and of naval Science, which now prevails everywhere, I think we cannot depend upon any thing decisive in such an Engagement, unless it be from the particular Character of Graves, whom I know personally to be neither a great man nor a great officer. If there should be no decision in a naval rencounter, Graves and his Fleet must be at New York, and de Ternay and his at Rhode Island. I readily agree that this will be a great advantage to the common Cause, for the Reasons mentioned in my Letter to your Excellency, of the Thirteenth of this Month.

But Still I beg Leave to suggest to your Excellency, whether it would not be for the good of the common Cause, to have Still farther Resources in view — whether Circumstances may not be such in the West Indies, as to enable Mr de Guichen to dispatch Ships to the Reinforcement of M. de Ternay, or whether it may not consist with the King's Service to dispatch Ships from Europe for that Purpose, and further whether the Court of Spain cannot be convinced of the Policy of keeping open the Communication between the United States and the French and Spanish Islands in the West Indies, so as to cooperate with France and the United States in the system of keeping up a constant Superiority of Naval Power both upon the Coasts of North America, and the West India Islands. This is the true plan which is finally to humble the English and give the combined Powers the advantage.

The English in the Course of the last War, derived all their Triumphs upon the Continent of America, and the Islands from the succours they received from their Colonies. And I

am sure that France and Spain with attention to the subject, may receive assistance in this war, from the same source equally decisive. I have the Honor to be with great respect and attachment, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant

(Signed) JOHN ADAMS

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMTE DE VERGENNES.

Among the unpleasant duties that devolved upon Franklin were the adjustment of difficulties between jealous and jarring captains, the apportionment of prize money, and the various functions that should have been discharged by a consul. The quarrel between John Paul Jones and Captain Landais caused him much annoyance. It is sufficiently described in the correspondence in Vol. VIII, pp. 33, 35, etc. It may be proper here to insert a letter from Franklin containing a summary of the affair.

TO THE NAVY BOARD

Passy, March 15, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I acquainted you in a former letter that there were great misunderstandings between Captain Landais and the other officers of his ship. These differences arose to such a height that the captain once wrote to me he would quit the command rather than continue with them. Some of them leaving the ship, that disturbance seemed to be quieted. But there has since arisen another violent quarrel between himself and Captain Jones. These things give me great trouble, particularly the latter, the circumstances of which I am under a necessity of communicating to you, that measures may be taken for putting properly an end to it by a court-martial, if

you find that step necessary. Soon after the arrival of our little squadron in the Texel I had a letter from Commodore Jones, complaining highly of Captain Landais, and mentioning that he was advised to put him under arrest in order to his trial by a court-martial, for which, however, there was not a sufficient number of officers in Europe. But he would do nothing in it until he heard from me. I had another from Captain Landais complaining of Commodore Jones, and begging me to order inquiry into the matter as soon as possible. I received also a letter from the minister of the marine, of which the following is an extract viz:

Je suis persuadé, monsieur, que vous n'aurez pas été moins touché que moi de la perte du grand nombre de volontaires Français qui ont été tués dans le combat du Bonhomme Richard contre le vaisseau de guerre anglois le Serapis. Cet événement est d'autant plus fâcheux, qu'il paroit que si la frégate américane L'Alliance avoit secondé le Bonhomme Richard en combattant en même tenir l'avantage remporté par le Comm. Jones, auroit été plus prompte, auroit conté moins de monde, et n'auroit pas mis le Bonhomme Richard dans le cas de couler bas trente-six heures après le combat. Le Capitaine de cette frégate ayant tenu une conduite très extraordinaire, je ne doute pas monsieur, que vous ne lui mandiez de se rendre auprès de vous pour en rendre compte, et que dans le cas où vous reconnoitrez que c'est par sa faute que la victoire a coute tant de sang, vous me jugiez a propos d'en informer le Congres, à fin qu'il fasse rayer le Capitaine de dessus a liste des officiers de sa marine, etc.

Upon this, and with the advice of a very respectable friend of Captain Landais, M. de Chaumont, who thought sending

for him to come to Paris, in order to an inquiry into his conduct, would prevent many inconveniences to the service that might attend a more public discussion, I wrote to him October 15, acquainting him with the principal heads of charges against him, and directing him to render himself here, bringing with him such papers and testimonies as he might think useful in his justification. I wrote at the same time to Commodore Jones to send up such proofs as he might have in support of his charges against the captain, that I might be enabled to give a just account of the affair to Congress. In two or three weeks Captain Landais came to Paris, but I received no answer from Commodore Jones. After waiting some days I concluded to hear Captain Landais on the 15th of November, without longer delay, and that the impartiality of the inquiry might be more clear I requested the above named, a friend of Captain Landais, and Dr. Bancroft, a friend of Commodore Jones, to be present. With this I sent the minutes that were taken on that occasion.

The justification Captain Landais offers in answer to the charge of disobedience of the commodore's orders seems to call on me for an explanation of what relates to those I had given Captain Landais. The armament was made at l'Orient. M. de Chaumont was present there, and had the care of it. I was necessarily at a great distance, and could not be consulted on every occasion, and I was not on the following. A convoy being wanted for some merchant ships to Bordeaux, and our squadron being ready, and there being time sufficient, it was employed in and performed that occasional service. The *Alliance* and *Bon Homme Richard* afterwards at sea ran foul of each other in the night, the latter received great damages, and all returned to L'Orient, the

state of the crew, as well as that of the ship, making it at first doubtful whether the *Bon Homme Richard* might not be long detained in port. I was applied to for the conditional order I gave on the 28th of June to Captain Landais. I could not foresee that he would think a cruise, for which he was to take on board six months' provisions and during which he was to be under the orders of Commodore Jones, was accomplished by the little trip to Bordeaux and the return above mentioned, and that he was therefore no longer under those orders. Nor could I imagine that a conditional order for cruising alone, in case the *Bon Homme* could not be ready in time, would, if she was ready, and they sailed together, be construed into an exemption from that subordination in a squadron which regular discipline and the good of the service requires, otherwise I should certainly have removed those misapprehensions by fresh and very explicit orders. How far Captain Landais is justifiable in those interpretations and his consequent conduct must be left to his proper judges.

The absence of Commodore Jones and of all the witnesses, so that none of them could be cross-examined, have made this inquiry very imperfect. You will perceive that contradictions appear in the evidence on both sides in some very material points. Those, with my ignorance in the manœuvering of ships engaged, and their possible operations under all the variety of circumstances that wind, tide, and situation afford, make it as impracticable for me to form, as it would be improper for me without authority to give, a judgment in this affair. I will only take the liberty of saying in favor of Captain Landais that, notwithstanding the mortal quarrel that rose between them at sea, it does not appear to me at all probable he fired into the *Bon Homme Richard* with

design to kill Captain Jones. The inquiry, though imperfect, and the length of it, have, however, had one good effect in preventing hitherto a duel between the parties, that would have given much scandal, and which I believe will now not take place, as both expect justice from a court-martial in America.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

Henry Laurens was appointed minister to Holland to negotiate a treaty that had been unofficially proposed by Van Berckel, the Grand Pensionary. He sailed for Europe on the *Mercury* (Captain Pickles), was captured, September 3, 1780, put on board the British frigate *Vestal*, and taken to Newfoundland. Thence by order of Admiral Edwards he was sent to England in the sloop *Fairy*, and committed to the Tower as a State Prisoner charged with high Treason.

Franklin was requested to secure his release, or at least some mitigation of the severity of his confinement. It was reported that his health was suffering by the rigour and closeness of his imprisonment. Franklin obtained the following report (P. H. S.) (October 17, 1780) from his secret correspondent, Thomas Digges (William Singleton Church), in London: —

"It was not until the 14th Inst. that any Person whatever was permitted to see Mr Laurens in the Tower. Then after repeated Applications for Admission Mr Manning and Mr Laurens's Son, a Youth of 17, or 18, who has been some Years at Warrington School got Admission to him. A Permit was given them signed by the Lords Hillsborough, Stormont and Germain for Half an Hour's Interview, and that the

Permit did not extend to any future Visit. They found him very ill of a lax, much emaciated not low spirited, and bitterly invective against the People here, for his harsh Treatment. He spoke handsomely of his Treatment whilst on board Ship, and of the Capt (Heppel) & Lieut. Norris who attended him to London; but from the period of his landing, he was treated with a Brutality, which he did not expect even from Englishmen. His Weakness from sickness, and the agitation on seeing his Son took up the first 10 of the 30 minutes allowed him to converse with his Friends. The Rest was filled with Invective against the authors of this harsh Treatment. His outer Room is but a mean one, not more than 12 Feet square a dark close Bed-Room adjoining; both indifferently furnished and a few Books on his Tables: No Pen and Ink has yet been allowed him; but he has a Pencil and Memorandum Book in which he occasionally notes Things. The Warden of the Tower, & a Yeoman constantly at his Elbow, tho' they make no Attempts to stop his conversation. Mr Manning's being the first Visit he has had, perhaps he said every Thing he could about the Severity of his Treatment, in Order that it might get out, and contradict the General Report of being well treated. He has hitherto declined any Physical Advice or the Visits of any of those Creatures about him, who may be set on to pump. Mr Penn is making Application to see him, and will likely get Leave. It is doubtful if the Son will be able to get Admission a Second Time. His Treatment being *now* very generally known, every Person is crying out Shame upon it, and the Authors thereof are very much abused. It is a Strange Thing to go forth, but it is the general received Opinion that the Order for such harsh Treatment were in Consequence of an Intimation from the *first* Man in

this Country now generally known by the Appelation of *White Eyes.*"

Franklin wrote to his old friend Sir Grey Cooper complaining of the harshness of the proceeding. Cooper obtained a report from the lieutenant-governor of the Tower which he forwarded to Paris.[1] Franklin attempted to negotiate through Burke an exchange of Laurens and Burgoyne.[2] At Laurens's request Burke addressed the House in his behalf, with the result, as Hodgson told him, that he succeeded in "putting another bolt in his door." Laurens's daughter besought Franklin's aid. "Is it not a reflection on America," she wrote, that one of her Ambassadors, a man of worth and credit, should in his Prison be so miserable as to want the common necessaries of life, and no notice taken of it?

Laurens had been acquainted with Richard Oswald for more than thirty years, and his friend, by entering bail for him to the amount of £2,000, secured his release upon December 31, 1781.

The financing of the Revolution was, no doubt, the greatest service that Franklin rendered to America. Without doubt, too, the constant necessity of seeking money in Europe was the chief annoyance of his life. Upon him devolved the duty of negotiating loans and disbursing money. His political arguments were based upon finance. As he expressed it he had to perform the Gibeonite task of drawing water for all the congregation of Israel. He made a treaty with the farmers-general, whereby cargoes of tobacco from the South were to be admitted to the ports of France, and whereby other cargoes of saltpetre were to be shipped to America. Fortunately Lavoisier was a farmer-general, and his wife was the daughter

[1] See Vol. VIII, p. 165. [2] See Vol. VIII, p. 319.

of Paulze, another of the farmers of revenue. Here again Franklin's scientific reputation gave him a political advantage. He installed his nephew Jonathan Williams at Nantes, as an American financial agent, whose business was to sell American cargoes and invest the money in the manufactures of France, "according as they shall be ordered." Schweighauser, a merchant of Nantes, was his active partner.[1]

Congress continually placed orders for supplies, and called upon Franklin to pay the bills. Congress, being without resources and without power to raise a revenue, was obliged to look abroad for loans which were solicited at shortening intervals and with most petitionary vehemence. American credit was daily in peril through discredited notes. Franklin often besought the Congress not to draw further upon him, that he was without funds and with no certainty of obtaining further loans; still the orders were drawn upon him and Congress weakly explained that it was inevitable.

The United States depended for its maintenance upon Franklin. His personality and his unwearying efforts provided the means of warfare. The little that was accomplished in Holland was due chiefly to Franklin working through Charles Dumas. The little that Spain was induced to do was accomplished by Franklin through the Count de Campomanes and the Count d'Aranda. But the only substantial aid came from France. It is certain that the Independence of America was won by the aid of France, and it is equally certain that Franklin alone obtained or could obtain that aid. He turned

[1] Schweighauser invested 30,000 livres in the business. Williams's kinship to Franklin was an immense benefit to the business. He once said to his uncle, "I am treated here with as much respect, as if I were the nephew of a Prince."

the adulation with which he was everywhere greeted into a perpetual benefit to his country.[1] He appealed again and again to De Vergennes and the king — "the most amiable and most powerful Prince of Europe" — to save American credit by additional grants of money. And he never appealed in vain. After the financial budgets of the year had been made up and closed, applications for money for a particular purpose which the government had over and over again provided for and furnished, were yet once more favourably heard, and, unwearied by the large and importunate demands, other millions were released from the almost exhausted treasury of France.

It was often an acute humiliation to Franklin, with his lifelong principles and practice of thrift and frugality, to beg for loans when he well knew that the French purse was nearly empty.

His correspondence with De Vergennes turns chiefly upon the financial needs of America. Many of these letters have already been quoted. The mind of De Vergennes is revealed in the following letters replying to Franklin's petitions.

FROM COMTE DE VERGENNES TO B. FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Versailles, November 26, 1780.

SIR,

I have received the letter, which you did me the honour to write me on the 19th instant, and with it the resolutions of

[1] The story is told that at a dinner of *beaux-esprits*, one of the gentlemen, in order to engage Franklin in conversation, said to him, "It must be owned that America presents at this time a grand and superb spectacle." "Yes," answered Franklin, "but the spectators do not pay." "They have paid since," said Grimm, commenting upon this story. See "Grimm's Correspondence," Vol. I, p. 454 (1778).

Congress, ordering drafts upon you to the amount of about one million four hundred thousand livres. You can easily imagine my astonishment at your request of the necessary funds to meet these drafts, since you perfectly well know the extraordinary efforts, which I have made thus far to assist you, and to support your credit; and especially since you cannot have forgotten the demands you lately made upon me. Nevertheless, Sir, I am very desirous of assisting you out of the embarrassed situation in which these repeated drafts of Congress have placed you; and for this purpose I shall endeavour to procure for you, for the next year, the same aid that I have been able to furnish in the course of the present. I cannot but believe, Sir, that Congress will faithfully abide by what it now promises you, that in future no drafts shall be made upon you, unless the necessary funds are sent to meet them. I have the honour to be, Sir, with great sincerity, &c.

DE VERGENNES.

FROM COMTE DE VERGENNES TO B. FRANKLIN (L. C.)

Versailles, 31 December, 1781.

SIR,

I have received the letter you did me the honour to write me the 27th instant. I shall not enter into an examination of the successive variations and augmentations of your demands on me for funds to meet your payments. I shall merely remark, that, whenever you shall consider yourself fully authorized to dispose of the proceeds of the Dutch loan, on behalf of Congress, I will propose to M. de Fleury to supply you with the million required, as soon as it shall have been paid into the royal treasury. But I think it my duty, Sir, to inform you, that, if Mr. Morris issues drafts on this same million, I shall

not be able to provide for the payment of them, and shall leave them to be protested. I ought also to inform you, that there will be nothing more supplied than the million above mentioned; and, if the drafts, which you have already accepted, exceed that sum, it must be for you to contrive the means of meeting them. I shall make an exception only in favour of those of Mr. Morris, provided they shall not exceed the remainder of the Dutch loan, after deducting the million, which shall be placed at your disposal, and the expenses of the loan. I have the honour to be, &c.

DE VERGENNES.

Carmichael, Lee, Dana, and Adams were clamouring for money, and every post brought knowledge of fresh drafts exciting new alarms.

John Adams wrote from Leyden, April 10, 1781.

FROM JOHN ADAMS TO B. FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Leyden, April 10th, 1781.

SIR,

Relying on your Virtues and Graces of Faith and Hope, I accepted the Bills to the amount of ten thousand Pounds Sterling drawn in favour of Mr. Tracy. I have received advice from Congress of more Bills drawn upon me. When they arrive, and are presented, I must write you concerning them, and desire you to enable me to discharge them; for I am sorry to be obliged to say, that although I have opened a Loan according to the best Plan I could, and the Plan and the Loan seems to be countenanced by the Public, yet there is little Money obtained, scarcely enough to defray the Expence of Obligations and Stamps; and it is more and more clear to me, that we shall never obtain a Loan here, until our

Independence is acknowledged by the States. Till then every man seems to be afraid, that his having any thing to do in it, will be made a foundation of a criminal Process, or a Provocation to the resentment of the Mob.

The Time is very near, when some of the Bills I accepted become payable. I must intreat your Excellency's answer to this as soon as convenient, and to point out to me, whether you choose that the House of Fitzeau & Grand & Co, or any other, should pay the Money. It is a most grievous Mortification to me, to find that America has no Credit here, while England certainly still has so much; and to find that no Gentleman in public Life here dare return me a Visit or answer me a Letter, even those who treated me when I first arrived here with great Politeness. I am entreated, however to keep this secret, but have no Motive to secrete it from you. On the contrary, you ought to know it. I am told there will be great alterations very soon; but I have seen by Experience, that no man in this Country knows what will be in the morrow.

Let me ask the favour of you, Sir, to give my best Respects to Coll. Laurens and Mr. Franklin. I have the honour to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant

JOHN ADAMS.

William Bingham, United States agent at Martinique, complained that the Navy Board instructed commanders of vessels to apply to him for supplies, "When, so far from having Funds belonging to the Public for such purposes Congress is indebted to me by their last audit to the amount of 2,400,000 Livres, currency of this island." Finding his

credit ruined, he drew upon Franklin, declaring that if the notes came back protested, he could not pay his debts.

John Adams wrote again, November 7, 1781, "If the loan so long expected from Holland does at length take place, as I am told it is likely to do my embarras will I hope be removed by it. If not I must scuffle and shift as I can. God help us all." Adams was looking to Jean de Neufville, the banker, for monetary aid. Franklin suspected that there was little to be derived from that source, but at great cost. He told Adams, "His professions of disinterestedness with regard to his shares are in my opinion deceitful, and I think that the less we have to do with that shark the better; his jaws are too strong, his teeth too many, and his appetite immensely voracious."

After the war was concluded the drafts continued. Laurens wrote to Franklin (March 28, 1784): "I am weary of conjectures upon this business. Is there a worm at the root of the hasty grown Gourd? I find however some consolation in foreseeing that there must be a stop to the evil, and hoping the day cannot be far distant. That several of the States are to blame for deficiencies I have no doubt, but according to my ideas no necessity could sanctify continued drafts under a moral certainty of Dishonour. Abundantly more prudent would it have been to submit to every Inconvenience at home. Creditors then would have worked out their own Salvation, and People's eyes would have been opened."

The following resolutions, transcribed from the original document in the French Foreign Office, and with Franklin's "note" appended to them, show the desperate straits to which he was driven by the urgency of Congress.

BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

Sept. 14. 1782.

Resolved,

That a Sum not exceeding four Millions of Dollars, exclusive of the Money which Mr Adams may obtain by the Loan now negociating in Holland, be borrowed in Europe on the Faith of the United States of America, and applied towards defraying the Expences which shall be incurred, and of those which during the present year have been incurred, for carrying on the War.

Resolved,

That the Superintendant of Finance and Secretary for foreign Affairs, take order for carrying the above Resolution into effect transmitting the same without Delay to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of these United States at the Court of Versailles, and at the Hague.

Resolved,

That the Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States at the Court of Versailles be and he is hereby instructed to communicate the foregoing Resolution to his most Christian Majesty and to assure his Majesty of the high sense which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of his Friendship and generous Exertions, their Reliance on a Continuance of them, and the necessity of applying to his Majesty on the present Occasion. And the said Minister is further instructed to cooperate with the Superintendant of Finance and Secretary for foreign affairs in the most effectual means for giving success to the said Loan.

September 23rd 1782

Resolved,

That the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Versailles be informed, that his Letters to the Superintendant of Finance and Secretary for foreign affairs bearing Date respectively the twenty fifth day of June last have been laid before Congress and that notwithstanding the Information [1] contained in those Letters, it is the Direction of Congress that he use his utmost Endeavours to effect the Loan which by the Resolve of the fourteenth instant is ordered to be negociated.

CHAS THOMSON Secy

Extract from the Minutes

In consequence of this last solicitation, a contract was made at Versailles, February 21, 1783, by De Vergennes and Franklin, from which I quote the second article which sums up and explains the various loans obtained by Franklin from the government of France.

"ARTICLE 2d For better understanding the fixing of periods for the reimbursement of the six millions at the royal treasury, and to prevent all ambiguity on this head, it has been found proper to recapitulate here the amount of the preceding aids granted by the King to the United States, and to distinguish them according to their different classes.

[1] NOTE BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The information here alluded to, was the last Loan of six Millions, was accompanied with the most explicit Declarations to me, that no more was to be expected, or could possibly be granted; and that if I accepted Bills to a greater amount, I must seek elsewhere for the Payment of them, as it could not be furnish'd here. I also mentioned all the particulars of the King's Goodness to us in the Contract by which our Debt was settled; and intreated that I might not be forced to disoblige so kind a Friend by new and reiterated Demands.

"The first is composed of funds lent successively by his Majesty, amounting on the whole to the sum of eighteen million livres, reimburseable in specie at the Royal Treasury in twelve equal portions of a million five hundred thousand livres each, besides the Interest, and in twelve years, to commence from the third year after the date of the peace; the Interest beginning to reckon at the date of the peace; to be discharged annually, shall diminish in proportion to the reimbursement of the Capital, the last payment of which shall expire in the Year 1798.

"The Second Class comprehends the loan of five million Dutch florins, amounting by a moderate valuation to ten million Livres Tournois the said Loan made in Holland in 1781 for the Service of the United States of North America, under the engagement of the King to refund the Capital with Interest at four per Cent per annum, at the general counter of the States General of the United provinces of the Netherlands in ten equal portions, reckoning from the sixth year of the date of said loan, and under the like engagement on the part of the Minister of Congress & in behalf of the 13 United States, to reimburse the Committee of said Loan in ready money at the royal treasury, with Interest at four per Cent per Annum in ten equal portions of a million each, and in ten periods from Year to Year, the first of which shall take place in the month of Novr 1787 & the last in the same month 1796; the whole conformable to the conditions expressed in the Contract of 16th of July 1782.

"In the third class are comprehended the Aids and Subsidies furnished to the Congress of the United States, under the title of gratuitous assistance, from the pure generosity of the King, three millions of which were granted before the treaty of

Feby 1778 & six millions in 1781, which aids and subsidies amount in the whole to Nine Million Livres Tournois. His Majesty here confirms in case of need the gratuitous gift to the Congress of the said thirteen United States."

Almost immediately after this contract had been made and executed fresh demands were made. Robert Morris, who was continued in his office of Superintendent of Finances, wrote a letter, full of apologies, in which he said: "My official Situation compels me to do things which I would certainly avoid under any other Circumstances. Nothing should induce me in my private Character to make such Applications for Money as I am obliged to in my public Character." He stated that the army expected a payment of $700,000, and that he was already above half a million dollars in advance of his resources by paper anticipation. "I must increase the Anticipation immediately to pay monies due on the Contracts for feeding our Army and I must make them the explicit payment by notes to be discharged at a distant day. These notes would have to be paid, or credit would be ruined."

One item in the contract of February 21, 1783, was to cause much annoyance to Franklin. It was stated therein that three million livres were furnished before the treaty of February, 1778, as "gratuitous assistance from the pure generosity of the King." Mr. Grand the banker, in his accounts, credited three millions received prior to February, 1778, but he included therein a million received from the farmers-general. The question was pertinently asked, "What became of the third million granted by the king?" Franklin declared that all the money granted by the king was paid to Mr. Grand. It therefore appeared that the million said to have

been paid by the farmers-general was "a gratuitous assistance from the pure generosity of the King," and that the farmers-general were indebted to the United States for the amount of the tobacco remitted to them.

An explanation of when and to whom the third million was paid was demanded. Mr. Grand applied to Durival to trace the lost million. The result of the inquiry is contained in the following correspondence.

FROM M. DURIVAL TO MR. GRAND

Versailles, 30 August, 1786.

SIR,

I have received the letter, which you did me the honour to write on the 28th of this month, touching the advance of a million, which you say was made by the Farmers-General to the United States of America, the 3d of June, 1777. I have no knowledge of that advance. What I have verified is, that the King, by the contract of the 25th of February, 1783, has confirmed the gratuitous gift, which his Majesty had previously made, of the three millions hereafter mentioned, viz. one million delivered by the Royal Treasury, the 10th of June, 1776, and two other millions advanced also by the Royal Treasury, in 1777, on four receipts of the Deputies of Congress, of the 17th of January, 3d of April, 10th of June, and 15th of October, of the same year. This explanation will, Sir, I hope, resolve your doubt touching the advance of the 3d of June, 1777. I further recommend to you, Sir, to confer on this subject with M. Gojard, who ought to be better informed than we, who had no knowledge of any advances, but those made by the Royal Treasury. I have the honour to be, &c.

DURIVAL.

FROM M. DURIVAL TO MR. GRAND

Versailles, 5 September, 1786.

SIR,

I laid before the Count de Vergennes the two letters which you did me the honour to write, touching the three millions, the free gift of which the King has confirmed in favour of the United States of America. The minister, Sir, observed, that this gift has nothing to do with the million, which the Congress may have received from the Farmers-General in 1777; consequently he thinks, that the receipt, which you desire may be communicated to you, cannot satisfy the object of your view, and that it would be useless to give you the copy which you desire. I have the honour to be, with perfect attachment, &c.

DURIVAL.

FROM MR. GRAND TO B. FRANKLIN

Paris, 9 September, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,

The letter you honoured me with, covered the copies of three letters, which Mr. Thomson wrote you in order to obtain an explanation of a million, which is not to be found in my accounts. I should have been very much embarrassed in satisfying and proving to him, that I had not put that million in my pocket, had I not applied to M. Durival, who, as you will see by the answer enclosed, informs me, that there was a million paid by the Royal Treasury, on the 10th of June, 1776. This is the very million about which Mr. Thomson inquires, as I have kept an account of the other two millions, which were also furnished by the Royal Treasury, viz. the one million in January and April, 1777, the other in July and

October of the same year, as well as that furnished by the Farmers-General in June, 1777.

Here, then, are the three millions exactly, which were given by the King before the treaty of 1778, and that furnished by the Farmers-General. Nothing then remains to be known, but who received the first million in June, 1776. It could not be myself, as I was not charged with the business of Congress until January, 1777. I therefore requested of M. Durival a copy of the receipt for the one million. You have the answer, which he returned to me. I have written to him again, renewing my request; but, as the courier is just setting off, I cannot wait to give you his answer, but you will receive it in my next, if I obtain one. In the mean while, I beg you will receive the assurances of the sentiments of respect, with which I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, &c.

GRAND.

FROM M. DURIVAL TO MR. GRAND

Versailles, 10 September, 1786.

SIR,

I have laid before the Count de Vergennes, as you seemed to desire, the letter which you did me the honour to write yesterday. The minister persists in the opinion, that the receipt, the copy of which you request, has no relation to the business with which you were intrusted on behalf of Congress, and that this document would be useless in the new point of view in which you have placed it. Indeed, Sir, it is easy for you to prove, that the money in question was not delivered by the Royal Treasury into your hands, as you did not begin to be charged with the business of Congress until January,

1777, and the receipt for that money is of the 10th of June, 1776. I have the honour to be, with perfect attachment, Sir, &c. DURIVAL.

FROM MR. GRAND TO B. FRANKLIN (L. C.)

Paris, 12 September, 1786.

SIR,

I hazard a letter in hopes it may be able to join that of the 9th at L'Orient, in order to forward to you the answer I have just received from M. Durival. You will there see, that, notwithstanding my entreaty, the minister himself refuses to give me a copy of the receipt which I asked for. I cannot conceive the reason for this reserve, more especially since, if there has been a million paid, he who has received it has kept the account, and it must in time be known. I shall hear with pleasure, that you have been more fortunate in this respect in America than I have been in France; and I repeat to you the assurance of the sentiments of regard, with which I have the honour to be, &c. GRAND.

Little more has been learned since this correspondence concerning the history of the lost million. It has been traced to the door of Beaumarchais's bank. Beyond that point all knowledge of it ceases.

CHAPTER X

THE TREATY OF PEACE

AFTER Cornwallis had been *burgoinised*, as the French then said, and the infant Hercules had strangled the second serpent in his cradle, the English government made overtures of

peace. It was the aim of their diplomacy to divide America and France. David Hartley wrote to Franklin that he understood that America was disposed to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain. Franklin replied, "This has always given me more disgust than my friendship permits me to express. I believe there is not a man in America — a few English Tories excepted — that would not spurn at the thought of deserting a noble and generous friend for the sake of a truce with an unjust and cruel enemy. . . . The Congress will never instruct their Commissioners to obtain a peace on such ignominious terms, and though there can be but few things in which I should venture to disobey their orders, yet if it were possible for them to give such an order as this I should certainly refuse to act. I should instantly renounce their Commission and banish myself forever from so infamous a country."

To the amazement of Versailles the preliminary articles of the treaty of peace between England and the United States were concluded without any communication between the commissioners and the court of France, although the instructions from Congress prescribed that nothing should be done without the participation of the king. De Vergennes wrote sharply and surprisedly to Franklin, saying, "You are wise and discreet, Sir: you perfectly understand what is due to propriety: you have all your life performed your duties. I pray you to consider how you propose to fulfil those which are due to the King? I am not desirous of enlarging these reflections; I commit them to your own integrity.[1] In reply Franklin confessed to "neglecting a point of *bienséance*," but insisted that nothing had been agreed upon that was

[1] See Franklin's answer, Vol. VIII, p. 642.

contrary to the interests of France; and that no peace was to take place between America and England until the terms of the treaty with France had been concluded.

Franklin's conduct in this affair has been variously condemned and excused. He desired De Vergennes to keep the "little misunderstanding" secret, for he understood that the English already flattered themselves that they had divided the United States and her ally. The French minister, however, consigned a copy of the preliminary articles to M. de la Luzerne, then minister of France in the United States, and said that he thought it proper that the very irregular conduct of the commissioners should be brought to the knowledge of Congress. Luzerne's representations to Congress almost resulted in the abrupt recall of Franklin and his colleagues.

FROM COUNT DE VERGENNES TO M. DE LA LUZERNE

Versailles, 19 December, 1782.

SIR,

With this letter I have the honour to send you a translation of the preliminary articles, which the American Plenipotentiaries have agreed to and signed with those of Great Britain, to be made into a treaty when the terms of peace between France and England shall be settled.

You will surely be gratified, as well as myself, with the very extensive advantages, which our allies, the Americans, are to receive from the peace; but you certainly will not be less surprised than I have been, at the conduct of the Commissioners. According to the instructions of Congress, they ought to have done nothing without our participation. I have informed you, that the King did not seek to influence the negotiation any further than his offices might be neces-

sary to his friends. The American Commissioners will not say, that I have interfered, and much less that I have wearied them with my curiosity. They have cautiously kept themselves at a distance from me. Mr. Adams, one of them, coming from Holland, where he had been received and served by our ambassador, had been in Paris nearly three weeks, without imagining that he owed me any mark of attention, and probably I should not have seen him till this time if I had not caused him to be reminded of it. Whenever I have had occasion to see any one of them, and inquire of them briefly respecting the progress of the negotiation, they have constantly clothed their speech in generalities, giving me to understand, that it did not go forward, and that they had no confidence in the sincerity of the British ministry.

Judge of my surprise, when, on the 30th of November, Dr. Franklin informed me that the articles were signed. The reservation retained on our account does not save the infraction of the promise, which we have mutually made, not to sign except conjointly. I owe Dr. Franklin the justice to state, however, that on the next day he sent me a copy of the articles. He will hardly complain, that I received them without demonstrations of sensibility. It was not till some days after, that, when this minister had come to see me, I allowed myself to make him perceive that his proceeding in this abrupt signature of the articles had little in it, which could be agreeable to the King. He appeared sensible of it, and excused, in the best manner he could, himself and his colleagues. Our conversation was amicable.

Dr. Franklin spoke to me of his desire to send these articles to the Congress, and said, that for this purpose he and his colleagues had agreed to an exchange of passports with the

English minister, for the safety of the vessels which should be sent. I observed to him, that this form appeared to me dangerous; that, the articles being only provisional and dependent on the fate of our negotiation, which was then very uncertain, I feared this appearance of an intelligence with England, in connexion with the signature of the articles, might make the people in America think a peace was consummated, and embarrass Congress, of whose fidelity I had no suspicion. I added many other reasons, the force of which Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Laurens who accompanied him, seemed to acknowledge. They spared nothing to convince me of the confidence, which we ought to have in the fidelity of the United States, and they left me with the assurance, that they should conform to my wishes.

You may imagine my astonishment, therefore, when, on the evening of the 15th, I received from Dr. Franklin the letter, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. The tone of this letter seemed to me so singular, that I thought it my duty to write the answer, which I likewise send to you. I am ignorant of the effect, which this answer may have produced. I have not since heard from the American Commissioners. The courier has not come for my despatches, and I know not whether he has in reality been sent off. It would be singular, after the intimation which I have given them, if they should not have the curiosity to acquaint themselves with the state of our negotiation, that they may communicate the intelligence to Congress. This negotiation is not yet so far advanced in regard to ourselves, as that of the United States; not that the King, if he had shown as little delicacy in his proceedings as the American Commissioners, might not have signed articles with England long before them. There is no essential diffi-

culty at present between France and England; but the King has been resolved that all his allies should be satisfied, being determined to continue the war, whatever advantage may be offered to him, if England is disposed to wrong any one of them.

We have now only to attend to the interests of Spain and Holland. I have reason to hope, that the former will be soon arranged. The fundamental points are established, and little remains but to settle the forms. I think the United States will do well to make an arrangement with Spain. They will be neighbours. As to Holland, I fear her affairs will cause embarrassments and delays. The disposition of the British ministry towards that republic appears to be any thing but favourable.

Such is the present state of things. I trust it will soon be better; but, whatever may be the result, I think it proper that the most influential members of Congress should be informed of the very irregular conduct of their Commissioners in regard to us. You may speak of it not in the tone of complaint. I accuse no person; I blame no one, not even Dr. Franklin. He has yielded too easily to the bias of his colleagues, who do not pretend to recognise the rules of courtesy in regard to us. All their attentions have been taken up by the English, whom they have met in Paris. If we may judge of the future from what has passed here under our eyes, we shall be but poorly paid for all that we have done for the United States, and for securing to them a national existence.

I will add nothing, in respect to the demand for money, which has been made upon us. You may well judge, if conduct like this encourages us to make demonstrations of our liberality. I am, &c.

DE VERGENNES.

FROM COMTE DE VERGENNES TO B. FRANKLIN

Versailles, 25 December, 1782.

SIR,

I have the honour to send you my despatches for the Chevalier de la Luzerne. The packet is voluminous, but it contains many duplicates.

I should be glad if it were in my power to inform him, that our treaty is in as good progress as yours, but this is far from being the case. I cannot even foresee what will be the issue, for difficulties multiply. It will be well for you to forewarn the Congress to be prepared for whatever event may arise. I do not despair; I rather hope; but as yet all is uncertainty. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

DE VERGENNES.

Why did Franklin sully his reputation in France at the end of his diplomatic career? Why did he consent to the wish of his colleagues to ignore the instructions of Congress? He must not be too severely judged. The occasion was one of great moment. Vast consequences depended upon the deliberations of the Peace Commissioners. John Adams was stubborn, prejudiced, implacable. John Jay was suspicious, and, where the French character was concerned, misinformed and mistrustful. John Adams wrote in his diary: "Mr. Jay likes Frenchmen as little as Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard did. He says they are not a moral people; they know not what it is; he don't like any Frenchman; the Marquis de Lafayette is clever, but he is a Frenchman." The English envoys debated earnestly the questions of the fisheries and compensation to the Loyalists. When these important

concessions were made and the American commissioners got all that they had contended for, there was an irresistible desire to have the treaty signed and peace secured. It is just possible, too, that Jay and Franklin knew of the existence of a secret treaty between France and Spain in accordance with which peace with England was to depend upon her restitution of Gibraltar to Spain, and the abolition of the treaties relating to the fortifications of Dunkirk.

The first step in the negotiations for peace was taken when Franklin wrote to his friend, Lord Shelburne, March 22, 1782, congratulating him upon the triumph of the Whigs in the House of Commons, expressing the hope that it would be productive of a "general peace," and in the same breath telling him that Madame Helvétius had been made very happy by receiving in good order some gooseberry bushes which his Lordship had sent her. Shelburne became secretary of state for the northern department, including America; Charles James Fox was secretary for the southern department, which included France. Shelburne and Fox belonged to opposing factions of the Whig party, and were not likely to act in concert when one by virtue of his office could deal with De Vergennes only, and the other was limited by his office to negotiations with Franklin only. The first envoy to appear in Paris was Richard Oswald, a very honest Scot, who presented to Franklin letters from Shelburne and Henry Laurens. "He is fully apprised of my mind," wrote Shelburne, "and you may give full credit to everything he assures you of." From him Franklin learned that the new Ministry earnestly desired peace, and was willing to recognize the independence of America. Upon the 18th of April, Franklin, Oswald, and De Vergennes met, and in a prolonged interview Oswald

was assured that France could not treat without the concurrence of her allies, and that the United States would not treat but in concert with France. Franklin has set forth with minute care the history of the proceedings that followed in his "Journal of the Negotiations for Peace with Great Britain" (see Vol. VIII, pp. 459–560). Mr. Oswald was an old and valued friend of Mr. Laurens; his secretary, Caleb Whitefoord, was a close friend of Franklin, whose intimacy, he said, has been "the Pride and Happiness of my Life." Whitefoord had long been a sincere well-wisher to America, and no one lamented more the unhappy quarrel between the colonies and the parent state.[1] Among his papers, now in the British Museum, is the following manuscript note concerning the Treaty of Peace.

"First time of dining at Dr. F's —— Monsr —— asked me if I thought we should soon have Peace — I said, I could not speak for authority, but I believed that would depend on the *moderation* of the French Ministers and on their proposing equitable Terms, that if they insisted on any articles disgraceful to Great Britain, that the People would rather spend their last shilling than submit to them. Monsr replied that the Ministers profess'd as great moderation as could be desired. That France had nothing to ask for herself; she had gain'd the objects for which she took up Arms, viz. the Independance of her American allies and the Freedom of Navigation. She had acquired Glory & was not desirous of acquiring Territory especially at so great Distance. That she had

[1] Whitefoord presented to the Royal Society a portrait of Franklin by Wright, to whom Whitefoord gave the commission in 1782. On the day that he received from the Royal Society a letter of thanks for his gift he received notice of his election to membership in The American Philosophical Society.

Empire enough; these he believed were the sentiments of the French Ministers, but as to their Allies, he did not know what they might ask. He talk'd of the bad Policy of going to War with our Colonies. I told him I was *not* the Minister. He said the last Peace we made was a very *bad* one, I replied I thought it was *too* good. He talked of the growing greatness of America; & that the thirteen United States would form the greatest Empire in the World. — Yes sir, I replied & they will all speak English, every one of 'em. His Triumph was check'd, he understood what was intended to be convey'd, viz. that from a similarity of Language Manners and Religion that great Empire would be English not French."

On Wednesday, September 3, 1783, the definitive treaty was signed at David Hartley's apartments at the Hôtel de York, in Paris. On the same day the treaty between England and France was signed at Versailles.

Franklin despatched one week later the following letter to the President of Congress.

TO ELIAS BOUDINOT (L. C.)

Passy, September 10, 1783

SIR: —

On the 3d instant definitive treaties of peace were concluded between all the late belligerent powers, except the Dutch, who, the day before, settled and signed preliminary articles of peace with Britain.

We most sincerely and cordially congratulate Congress and our country in general on this happy event, and we hope that the same kind Providence which has led us through a rigorous war to an honourable peace will enable us to make a wise and moderate use of that inestimable blessing.

We have committed a duplicate original of the treaty to the care of Mr. Thaxter, who will go immediately to L'Orient, whence he will sail in the French packet to New York. That gentleman left America with Mr. Adams as his private secretary, and his conduct having been perfectly satisfactory to that minister, we join in recommending him to the attention of Congress. We have ordered Mr. Grand to pay him one hundred and thirty louis d'ors, on account of the reasonable expenses to be incurred by his mission to Congress, and his journey from thence to his family at Hingham, in the Massachusetts Bay; for the disposition of this money he is to account.

The definitive treaty being in the terms of the provisional articles, and not comprehending any of the objects of our subsequent negotiations, it is proper that we give a summary account of them.

When Mr. Hartley arrived here, he brought with him only a set of instructions signed by the king. We objected to proceeding with him until he should have a commission in form. This occasioned some delay; a proper commission was, however, transmitted to him, a copy of which was shortly after sent to Mr. Livingston.

We having been instructed to obtain if possible an article for a direct trade to the West Indies, made to Mr. Hartley the proposition No. 1.

He approved of it greatly, and recommended it to his court, but they declined assenting to it.

Mr. Hartley then made us the proposition No. 2, on being asked whether he was authorized to sign it in case we agreed to it, he answered in the negative. We therefore thought it improper to proceed to the consideration of it

until after he should have obtained the consent of his court to it. We also desired to be informed whether his court would or would not comprehend Ireland in their stipulations with us.

The British cabinet would not adopt Mr. Hartley's propositions, but their letters to him were calculated to inspire us with expectation that, as nothing but particular local circumstances, which would probably not be of long duration, restrained them from preferring the most liberal system of commerce with us, the ministry would take the earliest opportunity of gratifying their own wishes as well as ours on that subject.

Mr. Hartley then made us the proposition No. 3. At this time we were informed that letters for us had arrived in France from Philadelphia. We expected to receive instructions in them, and told Mr. Hartley that this expectation induced us to postpone giving him an answer for a few days.

The vessel by which we expected to receive those letters, it seems, had not brought any for us; but, at that time, information arrived from America that our ports were all opened to the British vessels. Mr. Hartley, therefore, did not think himself at liberty to proceed until after he should communicate that intelligence to his court and receive their further instructions.

Those further instructions never came, and thus our endeavours as to commercial regulations proved fruitless. We had many conferences, and received long memorials from Mr. Hartley on the subject, but his zeal for systems friendly to us constantly exceeded his authority to concert and agree to them.

During the long interval of his expecting instructions, for

his expectations were permitted to exist almost to the last, we proceeded to make and receive propositions for perfecting the definitive treaty. Details of all the amendments, alterations, objections, exceptions, etc., which occurred in these discussions, would be voluminous. We finally agreed that he should send to his court the project or draft of a treaty No. 4. He did so, but after much time, and when pressed by France, who insisted that we should all conclude together, he was instructed to sign a definitive treaty in the terms of the provisional articles.

Whether the British court meant to avoid a definitive treaty with us through a vain hope from the exaggerated accounts of divisions among our own people, and want of authority in Congress that some resolution might soon happen in their favour, or whether their dilatory conduct was caused by the strife of the two opposite and nearly equal parties in the cabinet, is hard to decide.

Your Excellency will observe that the treaty was signed at Paris, and not at Versailles. Mr. Hartley's letter No. 5 and our answer No. 6 will explain this. His objections, and indeed our proceedings in general, were communicated to the French minister, who was content that we should acquiesce, but desired that we would appoint the signing early in the morning, and give him an account of it at Versailles by express, for that he would not proceed to sign on the part of France till he was sure that our business was done.

The day after the signature of the treaty Mr. Hartley wrote us a congratulatory letter No. 7, to which we returned the answer No. 8.

He is gone to England, and expects soon to return, which for our part we think uncertain. We have taken care to

speak to him in strong terms on the subject of the evacuation of New York and the other important subjects proper to be mentioned to him. We think we may rely on his doing every thing in his power to influence his court to do what they ought to do; but it does not appear that they have as yet formed any settled system for their conduct relative to the United States. We cannot but think that the late and present aspect of affairs in America has had, and continues to have, an unfavourable influence, not only in Britain, but throughout Europe.

In whatever light the article respecting the Tories may be viewed in America, it is considered in Europe as very humiliating to Britain, and therefore as being one which we ought in honour to perform and fulfil with the most scrupulous regard to good faith and in a manner least offensive to the feelings of the king and court of Great Britain, who upon that point are extremely tender.

The unseasonable and unnecessary resolves of various towns on this subject, the actual expulsion of Tories from some places, and the avowed implacability of almost all who have published their sentiments about the matter, are circumstances which are construed, not only to the prejudice of our national magnanimity and good faith, but also to the prejudice of our governments.

Popular committees are considered here, as with us, in the light of substitutes to constitutional government, and as being only necessary in the interval between the removal of the former and the establishment of the present.

The Constitutions of the different States have been translated and published, and pains have been taken to lead Europe to believe that the American States not only made

their own laws, but obeyed them; but the continuance of popular assemblies, convened expressly to deliberate on matters proper only for the cognizance of the different legislatures and officers of government, and their proceeding not only to ordain, but to enforce their resolutions, has exceedingly lessened the dignity of the States in the eyes of these nations.

To this we may also add that the situation of the army, the reluctance of the people to pay taxes, and the circumstances under which Congress removed from Philadelphia have diminished the admiration in which the people of America were held among the nations of Europe, and somewhat abated their ardour for forming connections with us before our affairs acquire a greater degree of order and consistence.

Permit us to observe that in our opinion the recommendation of Congress promised in the fifth article should immediately be made on the terms of it and published, and that the States should be requested to take it into consideration as soon as the evacuation of the enemy shall be completed. It is also much to be wished that the legislatures may not involve all the Tories in banishment and ruin; but that such discriminations may be made as to entitle their decisions to the approbation of disinterested men and dispassionate posterity.

On the 7th instant we received your Excellency's letters of the 16th June last, covering a resolution of Congress of the 1st May, directing a commission to us for making a treaty of commerce, etc., with Great Britain. This intelligence arrived very opportunely to prevent the anti-American party in England from ascribing any delays on our parts to motives of resentment to that country. Great Britain will send a

minister to Congress as soon as Congress shall send a minister to Britain, and we think much might result from that measure.

The information of Mr. Dumas, that we encouraged the idea of entering into engagements with the Dutch to defend the freedom of trade, was not well founded. Our sentiments on that subject exactly correspond with those of Congress, nor did we even think or pretend that we had authority to adopt any such measures.

We have reasons to think that the Emperor of Russia and other commercial nations are ready to make treaties of commerce with the United States. Perhaps it might not be improper for Congress to direct their disposition on the subject be communicated to those courts, and thereby prepare the way for such treaties.

The Emperor of Morocco has manifested a very friendly disposition towards us. He expects, and is ready to receive, a minister from us, and as he may either change his mind or may be succeeded by a prince differently disposed, a treaty with him may be of importance. Our trade to the Mediterranean will not be inconsiderable, and the friendship of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli may become very interesting in case the Russians should succeed in their endeavours to navigate freely into it by Constantinople. Much, we think, will depend on the success of our negotiations with England. If she could be prevailed upon to agree to a liberal system of commerce, France, and perhaps some other nations, will follow her example; but if she should prefer an extensive monopolizing plan, it is probable that her neighbours will continue to adhere to their favourite restrictions.

Were it certain that the United States could be brought to act as a nation, and would jointly and fairly conduct their commerce on principles of exact reciprocity with all nations, we think it probable that Britain would make extensive concessions. But, on the contrary, while the prospect of disunion in our council, or want of power and energy in our executive department exists, they will not be apprehensive of retaliation, and consequently lose their principal motive to liberality. Unless, with respect to all foreign nations and transactions, we uniformly act as an entire united nation, faithfully executing and obeying the constitutional acts of Congress on those subjects, we shall soon find ourselves in the situation in which all Europe wishes to see us, viz., as unimportant consumers of her manufactures and productions, and as useful labourers to furnish her with raw materials.

We beg leave to assure Congress that we shall apply our best endeavours to execute the new commission to their satisfaction, and punctually obey such instructions as they may be pleased to give us relative to it. Unless Congress should have nominated a secretary to that commission we shall consider ourselves at liberty to appoint one; and as we are well satisfied with the conduct of Mr. W. T. Franklin, the secretary of our late commission, we propose to appoint him, leaving it to Congress to make such compensation for his services as they may judge proper.

Count de Vergennes communicated to us a proposition (viz., No. 9, herewith enclosed) for explaining the second and third articles of our treaty with France in a matter different from the sense in which we understood them. This being a matter in which we had no right to interfere, we have

not expressed any opinion about it to the Count. With great respect we have the honour to be, sir, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servants,

[Signed] { JOHN ADAMS / B. FRANKLIN / JOHN JAY

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL LIFE IN FRANCE

WITH no assistance, save the slight help furnished by his grandson, — an inexperienced boy who was more familiar than he with the French language, — surrounded by spies and beset by jealous and malicious foes, Franklin performed alone the varied duties of merchant, consul, commissioner, and plenipotentiary. He bought and sold ships, adjusted difficulties between rival commanders, pacified mutinous crews clamouring for prizes, purchased arms and clothing for the Continentals, recommended soldiers and sailors for the army and navy in America, made treaties with the farmers-general, influenced the policy of foreign newspapers, honoured the large and constant drafts of the Congress, and persuaded the French government to advance large sums of money to relieve the desperate necessities of America.

But his life was not all toil. He lightened the burden and forgot his worries by social diversions. He was admired by philosophers and petted by society; and he found himself as much at home in the *salon* of Madame d'Houdetot or Madame Helvétius as in the laboratory of Lavoisier, the

clinic of Vicq d'Azyr, or the cabinet of Vergennes. Never lived a man more idolized. Curious crowds followed him with applause when he walked abroad; men carried their canes and their snuff-boxes *à la Franklin*, fair women crowned him with flowers, and wrote him roguish letters affectionately addressed to "dear amiable Papa."

A list of the names upon the visiting cards found among Franklin's private papers would be an index of the society of Paris before the Revolution. Those that most frequently appear are La Duchesse d'Enville, Duc de la Rochefoucauld, M. Turgot, Duc de Chaulnes, Comte de Crillon, Vicomte de Sarsfield, M. Brisson, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Comte de Milly, Prince des Deuxponts, Comte d'Estaing, Marquis de Mirabeau, M. Beaugeard, Treasurer of the State of Brittany.

Twice a week he dined with Madame Brillon at *Moulin Joli*, every Saturday with Madame Helvétius at Auteuil, and more irregularly but still frequently with Madame d'Houdetot at Sanois. He was a social creature and loved cheerful companionship, — chess, conversation, and music, — nor was he, maugre the gout and the gravel, in any wise averse to the pleasures of the table. His dinners at home when he entertained his friends on Sunday at Passy were carefully studied, and his household accounts speak of large and learned purchases of the best vintages of France. His appetite for sawdust-pudding belonged only to the days of his apprenticeship. At sixty he was fond of an afternoon of salt fish and brandy at the George and Vulture with Anthony Todd, and was rather proud of discomfiting Lord Clare at a claret-drinking. Ten years later he made careful collections of menus, and declared that he would rather bring back from

Italy a receipt for Parmesan cheese than the rarest inscription that archæology had unearthed. A glass or two of champagne sufficed to put him in good humour, but before the dinner was over, he confessed to Mrs. Hewson, he often drank more than a philosopher should. He was particularly partial to the wines of Burgundy, and brought on access of gout with the copious draughts of *Nuits* with which Cabanis plied him at Auteuil. But he was also fond of Madeira, and liked to gossip with his friend Strahan over the second bottle.

The brother-in-law of the Chevaliere d'Eon sent him a cask of Burgundy from that strange creature's vineyard. M. de Bays, sub-delegate of the Intendance of Bourgogne, presented him with a basket of the best Burgundy to celebrate the Treaty of Peace. David Hartley supplied him with Jamaica rum. From Thomas Jordan, the brewer, he received a cask of porter which he broached in Philadelphia, when "its contents met with the most cordial reception and universal approbation."

He was very susceptible to female charms. Madame Brillon wrote to him, "You permit your wisdom to be broken against the rocks of femininity." Writing from Paris to Mrs. Partridge, he said, "You mention the kindness of the French ladies to me. I must explain that matter. This is the civilest nation upon earth. Your first acquaintances endeavour to find out what you like and they tell others. If 'tis understood that you like mutton, dine where you will you find mutton. Somebody, it seems, gave it out that I lov'd ladies; and then everybody presented me their ladies (or the ladies presented themselves) to be *embraced* — that is to have their necks kissed. For as to kissing of lips or cheeks, it is not

the mode here; the first is reckoned rude, and the other may rub off the paint."

In America, the chief friends with whom he indulged in careless banter and frivolous correspondence were "Caty" Ray, afterwards the wife of William Greene, governor of Rhode Island, and Elizabeth Partridge, née "Betsey" Hubbard. In England he found his most cheerful diversion with Mrs. Mary Hewson and Georgiana Shipley (daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph). Liberal portions still exist of his correspondence in France with Mesdames Brillon, D'Houdetot, Helvétius, Foucault, Forbach, and Le Veillard.

It was to Madame Brillon that Franklin addressed the first of his famous bagatelles. He has told the circumstances in a letter to William Carmichael.

"The person to whom it ['The Ephemera'] was addressed is Madame Brillon, a lady of most respectable character and pleasing conversation; mistress of an amiable family in this neighbourhood, with which I spend an evening twice in every week. She has, among other elegant accomplishments, that of an excellent musician; and, with her daughters who sing prettily, and some friends who play, she kindly entertains me and my grandson with little concerts, a cup of tea, and a game of chess. I call this *my Opera*, for I rarely go to the Opera at Paris."

M. Brillon was a French official of good estate and considerable income. His wife was much younger than he, and according to Miss Adams "one of the handsomest women in France." Franklin attempted in vain to arrange a marriage between her daughter and his grandson. Every Wednesday and Saturday he visited her and in the intervening days letters were swift and intelligent between them. "Do

you know, my dear Papa," she wrote to him, "that people have the audacity to criticise my pleasant habit of sitting upon your knees, and yours of always asking me for what I always refuse?" "I despise slanderers and am at peace with myself, but that is not enough, one must submit to what is called *propriety* (the word varies in each century in each country), to sit less often on your knees. I shall certainly love you none the less, nor will our hearts be more or less pure; but we shall close the mouths of the malicious and it is no slight thing even for the secure to silence them."

In the great collection of Franklin's papers in The American Philosophical Society are one hundred and nineteen letters from Madame Brillon, sparkling with wit and full of interesting history. The rough drafts, also, of some of Franklin's letters to her exist in the same collection, some of them written in his halting French and corrected by her pen. These letters have not hitherto been printed. They illuminate the character of Franklin and show the great man in idle hours when free of the weary burden of public business. Most of them are undated, but I have tried to arrange them as nearly as possible in what would appear to have been their chronological order.

MME. BRILLON TO DR. FRANKLIN

THE THUILLERIE,
2nd November, 1778.

The hope that I had of seeing you here, my dear Papa, prevented my writing to you for Saturday's tea. Hope is the remedy for all our ills. If one suffers, one hopes for the end of the trouble; if one is with friends, one hopes to remain with them; if one is away from them, one hopes to go to them,

— and this is the only hope that is left to me. I shall count the days, the hours, the minutes; each minute passed brings me nearer to you. We like to watch when it is the only means of uniting us to those whom we love. Man, who takes life thus, tries unceasingly to shorten it; he plans, desires; without the future, it seems to him that he possesses nothing. When my children are grown up — in ten years — the trees in my garden will shade me. The years pass, and then one regrets them. I might have done such and such a thing, one says then. Had I not been only twenty-five years old, I would not have done the foolish thing that I now repent of. The wise man alone enjoys the present, does not regret the past, and waits peacefully for the future. The wise man, who, like you, my Papa, has passed his youth in gathering knowledge and enlightening his fellows, and his ripe years in obtaining liberty for them, can cast a complaisant look on the past, enjoy the present, and await the reward of his labour in the future; but how many are wise? I try to become so, and am, in some ways: I take no account of wealth, vanity has small hold on my heart; I like to do my duty; I freely forgive society its errors and injustices. But I love my friends with an idolatry that often does me harm: a prodigious imagination, a soul of fire will always give them the ascendant over all my plans and my thoughts. I see, Papa, that I must pretend to but one perfection — that of loving the most that is possible. May this quality make you love your daughter always!

Will you not write me a word? a word from you gives me so much pleasure. It is always very good French to say, "Je vous aime." My heart always goes out to meet this word when you say it to me.

You always know how to join great wisdom to a grain

of roguishness; you ask Brillon for news of me just when you are receiving a letter from me; you act the neglected one, just when you are being spoiled, and then you deny it like a madman when the secret is discovered. Oh, I have news of you!

Good-bye, my kind Papa. Our good neighbours are going; there will be no more days for tea, where one can find you. I will write to you in spite of this, at least once a week. May my letters give you some pleasure, — as to love you and to tell you so is my heart's need. I have the honour to be,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

D'HARDANCOURT BRILLON

I was at a fine place (Erménonville), yesterday, where you are respected and wanted. I said I hoped we should go there together, some day; they spoke to me of you only. You can judge that, without knowing it, they could not have pleased me better.

Mama, my children, and Mlle. Jupin present you their respects. May I venture to beg you to give my kind regards to Mr. Franklinet?

MME. BRILLON TO DR. FRANKLIN

11th May, 1779.

You are quite right, my good Papa, true happiness should consist for us only in peace of mind; it is not in our power to change the nature of those with whom we live, nor to prevent the contrarieties that surround us. It is a wise man who speaks, and who tries to advise his too sensitive daughter by teaching her the truth. Oh, my Papa, I beg for your friendship, your healthy philosophy; my heart listens and submits to you. Give me strength that it may take the place of an

indifference your child can never feel. But admit, my friend, that for one who knows how to love, ingratitude is a frightful ill; that it is hard for a woman who would give her life without hesitation to insure her husband's happiness to see the result of her care and her desires taken away by intrigue, and falseness. Time will make all right: my Papa has said so, and I believe it. But my Papa has also said that time is the stuff of which life is made. *My* life, my friend, is made of fine and thin stuff, that grief tears cruelly; if I had anything to reproach myself with, I should long have ceased to exist. My soul is pure, simple, frank. I dare to tell my Papa so; I dare to tell him that it is worthy of him; I dare still assure him that my conduct, which he has considered wise, will not belie itself, that I will await justice in patience, that I will follow the advice of my honourable friend with firmness and confidence.

Adieu, you whom I love so much, — my kind Papa. Never call me anything but "my daughter." Yesterday you called me "Madame," and my heart shrank, I examined myself, to see whether I had done you any wrong, or if I had some failings that you would not tell me of. Pardon, my friend; I am not reproaching you, I am accusing myself of a weakness. I was born much too sensitive for my happiness and for that of my friends; cure me, or pity me, if you can do one and the other.

To-morrow, Wednesday, you will come to tea, will you not? Believe, my Papa, that the pleasure I take in receiving you is shared by my husband, my children, and my friends; I cannot doubt it, and I assure you of it.

To this letter Franklin replied: —

"Vous m'avez dit, ma chère fille, que votre cœur est trop sensible. Je vois bien dans vos lettres que cela est

trop vrai. D'être fort sensible de nos propres fautes, c'est bon; parce que cela nous mene de les eviter en futur; mais d'être fort sensible et affligé des fautes d'autres gens n'est pas bon. C'est à eux d'être sensible là et d'être affligées de ce qu'ils avaient mal fait; pour nous, nous devons rester en tranquilité qui est le droit et la partage de l'innocence et la vertu. Mais vous dites 'que l'Ingratitude est un mal affreux.' C'est vrai — aux ingrats — mais non pas à leurs bienfaiteurs. Vous ayez conféré des bienfaits sur ceux que vous en avez cru digne; vous avez donc fait votre devoir, puisque c'est de notre devoir d'être bienfaisants et vous devez être satisfait de cela et heureux dans la reflection. S'ils sont des ingrats c'est leur crime et non pas le votre; et c'est à eux d'être malheureux quand ils reflechissent sur la turpitude leur conduite envers vous. S'ils vous font des injures, reflechissez que quoique ils peuvent être auparavant vos égaux ils se sont placés par cette moyen au-dessous de vous; si vous vous vengez en les punissant exactement vous leur restituez leur état d'égalité qu'ils avoient perdu. Mais si vous les pardonnez sans leur donner aucune punition vous les fixez dans cette bas état où ils sont tombé et d'où ils ne peuvent jamais sortir sans vraie repentance et pleine reparation. Suivez donc, ma très chère et toujours aimable fille, la bonne resolution que vous avez prise si sagement de continuer à remplir tous vos devoirs comme bonne mère, bonne femme, bonne amie, bonne prochaine, bonne Chrétienne, etc. et negligez et oubliez s'il est possible les injures qu'on peut vous faire à présent; et soyez assuré qu'avec le tems la rectitude de votre conduite gagnera sur les esprits même des gens les plus mauvaises et encore plus sur ceux des personnes qui sont au fond d'un bon naturel et qui ont aussi du bon sens quoique pour le

présent peut-être un peu égarées par l'artifice des autres. Alors tous vous demanderont avec componction le retour de votre amitié et deviendront pour l'avenir de vos plus zélés amis.

"Je suis sensible que j'ai écrit ici beaucoup de très mauvais français; cela peut vous degouter vous qui écrivez cette langue charmante avec tant de pureté et d'élégance. Mais si vous pouvez en fin dechiffrer mes expressions gauches et impropres vous aurez peut-être au moins cette espèce de plaisir qu'on a en expliquant les énigmes ou decouvrant des secrets."

Franklin sent Madame Brillon his "Dialogue with the Gout," and accompanied it with the following undated letter.

"Je vous renvoie ma très chère fille, puisque vous voulez absolument le ravoir le brouillon de votre jolie fable. J'avois la pensée qu'en vous offrant une plus belle édition que votre ouvrage meritoit bien je pouvois vous gagner de me permettre à retenir l'original, ce que je désirois parce que j'aime tant ce qui vient de votre main. Et comme mon fils est aussi un de vos admirateurs j'ai voulu par le plaisir de le lire lui payer le travail de le bien copier. J'ai fait une faute je le confesse, mais comme vous avez eu la bonté de le pardonner je ne le repeterai pas jusqu'à une autre occasion.

"Une des personnages de votre fable, viz. la Gout me paroit raissonner assez bien à l'exception de sa supposition que les maitresses ont eu quelque part en produisant ce douloureuse maladie. Je crois moi tout le contraire et voici comme je raissonne. Quand j'étois jeune homme et que je jouissois plus des faveurs de la Sexe qu'a présent, je n'avois point de goutte. Donc si les Dames de Passy auroient eu plus de cette espèce de charité chrétienne que je vous ai si souvent

en vaine recommandé, je n'aurois pas eu la goutte actuellement. Il me semble que ceci est bonne logique.

"Je suis beaucoup mieux. J'ai peu de douleur mais je me trouve bien faible. Je peux comme vous voyez badiner un peu, mais je ne peux pas être réellement gai avant que j'entendrai que votre précieuse santé est rétablie.

"Je vous envoie mon Dialogue en espérant que cela pourroit vous amuser quelques moments.

"Bien de remerciements pour les très dernières tomes de Montaigne que je renvoie.

"La visite de votre toujours aimable famille hier au soir m'a faite beaucoup de bien. Mon Dieu! comme je les aime tous de la Grand Mère et le père jusque le plus petite enfant."

To this letter Madame Brillon replied:—

Saturday, 18th November, 1780.

There should be many little things to criticise in your logic, which my dear Papa asserts so well. "When I was a young man," you say, "and enjoyed the favours of the sex more than at present, I had no gout." "*Then*," one might reply to this, "when I threw myself out of the window, I did not break my leg." THEN you could have the gout without having deserved it, and you could have well deserved it, as I believe, and not have had it.

If this last argument is not as brilliant as the others, it is clear and sure; what are neither clear nor sure are the arguments of philosophers who insist that everything that happens in the world is necessary to the general movement of the universal machine. I believe that the machine would go neither better nor worse if you had not the gout, and if I were forever rid of my nervous troubles.

I do not see what help, more or less, these little incidents can give to the wheels that turn this world at random, and I know that my little machine goes worse for them. What I know very well besides, is that pain sometimes becomes mistress of reason, and that patience alone can overcome these two plagues. I have as much of it as I can, and I advise you, my friend, to have the same. When frosts have blackened the earth, a bright sun makes us forget them. We are in the midst of frosts, and must wait patiently for the bright sun, and, while waiting, amuse ourselves in the moments when weakness and pain leave us some rest. *This*, my dear Papa, is *my* logic.

Your dialogue amused me very much, but the corrector of your French spoiled your work. Believe me, leave your works as they are, use words that say things, and laugh at grammarians, who, by their purity, weaken all your sentences. If I had a good enough head, I would compose a terrible diatribe against those who dare to re-touch you, were it l'Abbé de la Roche, my neighbor Veillard, etc., etc., etc. I want to amuse myself by making notes on your work, and on theirs, and you will see that you are right.

Adieu, my good Papa. My big husband will take my letter to you; he is very happy to be able to go to see you. For me, nothing remains but the faculty of loving my friends. You do not doubt, surely, that I will do my best for you, even to Christian charity, that is to say, your Christian charity, *exclusively*.

MADAME BRILLON TO DR. FRANKLIN

New Year's Day, 1781.

If I had a good head and good legs — if, in short, I had all that I lack, — I should have come, like a good daughter,

to wish a happy New Year to the best of papas. But I have only a very tender heart to love him well, and a rather bad pen to scribble him that this year, as well as last, and as well as all the years of my life, I shall love him, myself alone, as much as all the others that love him, put together.

Brillon and the children present their homage to the kind Papa; and we also say a thousand things to M. Franklinet.

Franklin attempted to arrange a marriage between his nephew, Jonathan Williams, and one of the daughters of John Schweighauser, banker at Nantes. His plans failed, and Williams married Mariamne Alexander. He also tried to obtain one of the daughters of Madame Brillon for his grandson, William Temple Franklin. It was in reply to overtures of this kind that the following letter was written. Between two and three years later Franklin received a notice of the marriage of the daughter whom he had hoped to receive into his own family: "Monsieur et Madame Brillon de Jouy ont l'honneur de vous faire part du Mariage de Mademoiselle Brillon, leur Fille, avec Monsieur Paris." Upon the card, which exists among the private papers in The American Philosophical Society, Franklin wrote, "They were married Monday, Oct. 20, 1783."

A rough draft of the letter in which Franklin proposed a marriage between his grandson and Madame Brillon's daughter is in the Library of Congress. The letter must have been written in April, 1781. It is particularly interesting because of the light it throws upon Franklin's religious beliefs.

TO MADAME BRILLON (L. C.)

Souvenez vous, ma chere Amie, que je vous ai demandé; il y a quelque tems, si M. B. vous a parlé d'une Proposition

que je lui avoit faite? Vous m'aviez dit, que non. Je pensois de ne vous en parler pas, non plus; mais je suis changé d'avis, & je vas vous dire la chose. C'étoit une Mariage entre votre chere fille ainée & mon petit fils. Voici mes Motifs, J'aime, moi, tout la Famille sans exception. Je désirois de reserver par ce moyen les tendres Liaisons de notre Amitié. Ayant quasi perdue ma Fille par la vaste Distance entre nous, j'esperois d'en trouver une en vous & une autre en votre Fille, de soigner ma Viellesse si je restois en France, & de clorre mes paupieres quand je viens de mourir. J'ai tres bonne Opinion de cette aimable Demoiselle; Je l'ai observée pendant 4 Ans de Connoissance, & assurement je crois qu'elle fera une bonne Femme. Je crois aussi que mon Fils, qui n'a point des Vices, fera un bon Mari, autrement je n'aurois pas desire de le donner à votre Fille. J'ai observai qu'ils ont d'Amitié l'un pour l'autre. J'avois parlé a lui de mes vues de le marier ici; il m'a dit qu'il n'avoit que seule Objection, que son Mariage en France peut occasioner une Separation entre nous, si je retournois en Amerique; Mais quand je lui disois que s'il marrioit Mad^le^ Brillon je resterai jusque la fin de mes jours en France il en etoit fort content, disant que si je peux negocier cette Affaire pour lui, il seroit bien heureux. Il est encore jeune, & peut-etre le Partialité d'un Pere, m'avois fait penser trop avantageusement de lui, mais il me semble, qu'il a en lui l'étoffe pour faire avec le tems un homme distingué. Voila mes Excuses pour avoir fait cette de marche. Peut etre J'aurois mieux fait si j'avois premierement pris Conseil de vous, parceque vous pouvois m'informer que cette Projet ne conviendroit pas à M. Brillon, & je lui aurois epargné la peine de tourner pour le considerer.

Il m'a fait aujourd'hui deux Objections. L'une est la Difference de Religion. L'autre que sa Fille pourroit etre amenée en Amerique, par mon petit fils. J'avois pensé moi auparavant de ces deux choses. Pour la seconde c'étoit mon intention de tacher de l'etablir en France, restant ici moi-meme pendant ma Vie, & obtenant pour lui de me succeder dans mon Emploi publique, que je crois bien possible, avec le tems. Pour la premiere, voici mes Idées. En chaque Religion il y a des choses essentielles, & il y a d'autres qui ne sont que des Formes & des Modes; Comme un pain de Sucre qui peut-etre enveloppé en Papier brun ou blanc ou bleu, & lié avec ficelle de chanvre ou de laine, rouge ou jaune; c'est toujours le Sucre qui est la chose essentielle. Or les essentielles d'une bonne Religion consistent, il me semble, en ces 5 Articles viz:

1° Qu'il y a un Dieu qui a fait-le Monde, & qui le Gouverne par sa Providence.

2° Qu'il doit être adoré, & servi

3. Que le meilleure service de Dieu est de faire le bien aux hommes.

4. Que l'ame de l'homme est immortelle &

5. Que dans une Vie future sinon dans la presente, le vice sera puni, & la Vertue recompensée.

Ces Essentielles on trouve dans votre Religion & dans le notre, les Differences ne sont que Papier & Ficelle. C'est avec ces Pensées que je m'ai satisfait sur cette Sujet. Mais comme les mêmes Raisonnement ne sont bons pour tout le Monde, je ne pretend pas que les miens doivent etre bons pour vous, & pour M. Brillon. L'Affaire est donc fini, car l'Affaire est fini, car peutetre il a d'autres Objections qu'il ne m'a pas données, & je ne doit pas l'importuner. Nous

vous aimerons tous, neantmoins. Adieu, ma tres chere Amie, Aimez mois autant que vous pouvez. Ce n'est pas trop.

To this letter Madame Brillon replied:—

Friday, 20th April, 1781.

I am going to answer your letter, my good Papa, with frankness and friendliness. It would have been sweet to my heart, and most agreeable to M. Brillon, to form an alliance which would have made one family of us; we like your son, and believe that he has all that is necessary to make a man distinguished, and to render a woman happy. But he cannot reasonably decide to remain in this country; his property, his profession, and his duty bind him to his country. Your name to sustain is another tie that obliges him in every case to do the things, and live in the places, where he will be useful to his fellow-citizens. On our side, we need a son-in-law who is in a condition to fill the place of my husband, who begins to feel the need of rest. This place is the most important object of our fortune; it calls for a man skilled in the knowledge of the laws and customs of our country and of our religion. M. Brillon and I think, with you, that there is but one religion and one moral law common to all wise men; we are, however, obliged to submit to the usages of our country; an isolated being, keeping silent and leaving to others their prejudices, can do as he wishes. Married people, belonging to a large family, owe it some account of their doings. There would be still many other objections to the flattering proposal you have made us; what it has cost us to refuse it, should assure you forever of our affection.

Be at ease, my good Papa: as long as we live, you shall not be neglected. Without being your children we are your

friends, and we will give you always all the attention that lies in our power.

I beg you, my kind Papa, to communicate to your son all the obstacles in the way of the attachment he would form with our child. He must be the friend of all of us; he will be happy and will give us happiness in keeping to this feeling: if it becomes warmer, he will make himself unhappy, and give us pain; his integrity and your wisdom reassure us. Good-bye, my Papa. Love us and try to forget a plan, the remembrance of which would only cause us regret; or remind us of it only in order to strengthen, if possible, our confidence in the esteem and friendship which we have for each other.

Upon the birth of the first child of this marriage Franklin wrote to Madame Brillon: —

Ce 28 Novbre '84.

Je vous félicite très cordialement ma très chère amie de l'heureux accouchement de votre fille. Puisse l'enfant être aussi bonne et aussi aimable que sa mère, sa grande-mère et sa grande-grande-mère, etc. Je me souviens d'avoir un jour rencontré chez vous quatre de vos générations quand vos enfants étoient très jeunes et que j'ai dit alors que j'espérois vivre à voir la cinquième. Voici mon souhait prophetique accompli. Je fais des vœus actuellement pour la prospérité continuelle de toute la bonne famille. Avez-vous des nouvelles de notre bon Évêque? Où est-il? Comment se porte-t-il? Je vous embrasse fortement.

B. F.

To this letter Madame Brillon replied: —

2nd December, 1784.

Your letter, my kind Papa, has given me great pleasure; but if you would give me a greater, remain in France until you see my sixth generation. I only ask you for fifteen or sixteen years: my granddaughter will be marriageable early; she is fine and strong. I am tasting a new feeling, my good Papa, to which my heart gives itself with satisfaction, it is so sweet to love. I have never been able to conceive how beings exist who are such enemies to themselves as to reject friendship. They are ingrates, one says; well one is deceived; it is a little hard sometimes, but one is not so always; and to feel oneself incapable of returning it gives a contentment that consoles one for the treachery.

My little nurse is charming and fresh as a morning rose. The first days the child had difficulty, . . . but patience and the mother's courage overcame it; all goes well now, and nothing could be more interesting than this picture of a young and pretty person nursing a superb child, the father unceasingly occupied with the spectacle, and joining his attentions to those of his wife. My eyes often are wet, and my heart rejoices, my kind Papa. You realize so well the price of all that belongs to good and beautiful nature that I owe you these details. My daughter charges me with her thanks and compliments to you; my youngest and my men present their respects, and I, my friend, I beg you to believe that my friendship and my existence will always be one for you.

The following letter from Franklin is without date. It elicited from her a witty and triumphant reply.

"Pour vous faire mieux comprendre la Force de ma Demonstration que vous ne m'aimez pas, je commence par un petit Conte.

"Un Mendiant demandoit d'un rich Eveque un Louis en Aumones. Tu es un Extravagant On ne donne pas des Louis aux Mendiants. Un Ecu donc. Non. C'est trop. Un Liard donc, — ou votre Benediction. Mon Benediction! —Oui, je te le donnerai. Non je ne l'accepterai pas. Car s'il vaut en Liard, vous ne le voulez pas me donner. Voila comme cette Eveque aimoit son Voisin. Voila sa Charité! Et si j'examine la votre je ne la trouverai pas beaucoup plus grande. J'ai en un faim incroyable & vous ne m'aviez pas donné á manger, j'etois Etranger, & j'etois presque aussi malade que Colin de votre Chanson, & vous ne m'aviez pas ni reçu ni gueri, ni même soulagé.

"Vous qui étés riche comme un Archeveque en toutes les Vertus chretiennes et morales & qui pourrez m'en sacrifier une petite portion de quelques unes sans que la perte soit visible. Vous me dites que cela est trop, & vous ne voulez pas le faire. Voila votre Charité, à un pauvre Miserable, qui autrefois jouoit de l'Affluence et qui est malheuresement reduit à demander de vos Aumones. Vous dites neantmoins, que vous l'amiez. Mais vous ne lui donneriez pas votre Amitie s'il faut pour ce lá faire la de pense de la moindre petite Morceau de la Valeur d'un Liard, de votre Sagesse."

Madame Brillon replied:—

1st July Passy.

MY DEAR PAPA: Your bishop was a niggard and your beggar a rascally fellow. You are a very skilful sophist, as you almost convince one with your clever arguments founded on a false principle. Is it to Dr. Franklin, the celebrated philosopher, the profound statesman, that a woman speaks thus irreverently? Yes, this erudite man, this

legislator, has his weakness (it is the weakness, moreover, of great men: he has taken full advantage of it). But let us go into the matter.

To prove that I do not love you, my good Papa, you compare yourself to a beggar who asked alms from a bishop. Now, the rôle of a bishop is not to refuse to give to beggars when they are really in want; he honours himself in doing good. But in truth the kind of charity which you ask of me so humorously can be found everywhere. You will not suffer by my refusals! What would you think of your beggar, if, the bishop having given him the "louis" which he asked, he had complained because he did not get two? That, however, is your case, my good friend.

You adopted me as your daughter, I chose you for my father: what do you expect from me? Friendship! well, I love you as a daughter should love her father. The purest, most tender and respectful affection for you fills my soul; you asked me for a "louis"; I gave it to you, and yet you murmur at not getting another one, which does not belong to me. It is a treasure which has been entrusted to me, my good Papa; I guard it and will always guard it carefully. Even if you were like "Colin sick," in truth I could not cure you; and nevertheless, whatever you may think or say, no one in this world loves you more than I.

MADAME BRILLON TO DR. FRANKLIN

20th October, Marseilles.

I received on my arrival here, my good Papa, your letter of October 1st. It gave me much pleasure; I found in it evidences of your friendship and a touch of that gayety and gallantry which makes all women love you, because you love

them all. Your proposition to carry me on your wings, if you were the angel Gabriel, made me laugh; but I would not accept it, although I am no longer very young nor a virgin. That angel was a sly fellow and your nature united to his would become too dangerous. I would be afraid of miracles happening, and miracles between women and angels might not always bring a redeemer. . . .

I have arranged, my good friend, to write alternately to my "great neighbour" and to you; the one to whom I shall not have written will kindly tell the other that I love him with all my heart, and when it comes your turn you will add an embrace for the good wife of our neighbor, for her daughter, for little Mother Caillot, for all the gentle and pretty women of my acquaintance whom you may meet. You see that not being able to amuse you, either by my carols or by chess, I seek to procure you other pleasures. If you had been at Avignon with us, it is there you would have wished to embrace people. The women are charming there; I thought of you every time I saw one of them. Adieu, my good Papa; I shall not relate to you the events of my journey, as I have written of them to our neighbor, who will communicate them to you. I confine myself to assuring you of my most constant and tender friendship. . . .

MADAME BRILLON TO DR. FRANKLIN

13th October, the Thuillerie.

How are you, my good Papa? Never has it cost me so much to leave you; every evening it seems to me that you would be very glad to see me, and every evening I think of you. On Monday, the 21st, I shall go to get you; I hope that you will then be well on your feet, and that the teas of Wednesday

and Saturday, and that of Sunday morning, will regain all their brilliance. I will bring you *la bonne évèque.* My fat husband will make us laugh, our children will laugh together, our big neighbour will quiz, the Abbés La Roche and Morellet will eat all the butter, Mme. Grand, her amiable niece, and M. Grand will not harm the society, Père Pagin will play "God of Love" on his violin, I the march on the piano, and you "Petits Oiseaux" on the harmonica.

O! my friend, let us see in the future fine and strong legs for you, and think no more of the bad one that has so persecuted you. After the bad, one enjoys the good more; life is sown with one and the other, which she changes unceasingly. What she cannot keep from being equal and unchangeable is my tenderness for you, that time, place, and events will never change.

My mother and all my family beg to be remembered to you.

I had news of you from our neighbour, but I must absolutely have some from you.

DR. FRANKLIN TO MADAME BRILLON

Je me rendrai chez vous ma chère fille demain matin avec grand plaisir et si vous ne pourrez pas descendre sans difficulté peutêtre je serai assez fort pour monter votre escalier. Le désir de vous voir me donnera quelque force de plus. Mon fils m'aidera volontiers; car il ne s'oppose jamais à mes propositions d'aller avec moi chez Madame Brillon.

Les visites de votre bon mari pendant ma maladie m'a été très agréable. Sa conversation m'a soulagé et egayé. Je regrette qu'au lieu de la chercher quand j'ai été chez vous j'ai perdu tant de tems à jouer aux echecs. Il a beaucoup

des contes et toujours bien appliquées. S'il vous a derobé quelques uns vous pouvez les repeter néanmoins, car ils me plairont toujours de votre bouche.

M. Pagin m'a fait l'honneur de me visiter hier. C'est assurément un des meilleurs hommes possibles, car il a eu la patience de m'entendre jouer une air sur l'harmonica et de l'entendre jusqu'à la fin.

MADAME BRILLON TO DR. FRANKLIN

1st November, The Thuillerie.

Here I am reduced to writing to you, my good papa, and to saying that I love you. It was sweeter no doubt to let you see it in my eyes. How am I going to spend the Wednesdays and Saturdays? No teas, no chess, no music, no hope of seeing or embracing my good papa! It seems to me that the privation which I experience from your absence would suffice to make me change my views, were I inclined to materialism.

Happiness is so uncertain, so many obstacles are encountered in its pursuit, that the conviction that we shall be happier in another life can alone help us to bear the trials of this one. In paradise we shall be reunited, never to leave each other again! We shall there live on roasted apples only; the music will be composed of Scotch airs; all parties will be given over to chess, so that no one may be disappointed; every one will speak the same language; the English will be neither unjust nor wicked there; the women will not be coquettes, the men will be neither jealous nor too gallant; "King John" will be left to eat his apples in peace; perhaps he will be decent enough to offer some to his neighbours—who knows? since we shall want for nothing in paradise! We shall never suffer

from gout there nor from our nerves; Mr. Mesmer will content himself with playing on the harmonica, without bothering us about electric fluids; ambition, envy, pretensions, jealousy, prejudices, all these will vanish at the sound of the trumpet. A lasting, sweet, and peaceful friendship will animate every society. Every day we shall love one another, in order that we may love one another still more the day after; in a word, we shall be completely happy. In the meantime let us get all the good we can out of this poor world of ours. I am far from you, my good Papa; I look forward to the time of our meeting, and I am pleased to think that your regrets and desires equal mine.

My mother and my children send you their loving remembrance; we should all like to have you here. May I ask you to remember me to your grandson?

Franklin was never fluent or correct in writing or speaking French. Every one knows that when he attended the theatre with Madame de Boufflers he followed her example and applauded when she showed approval, and learned to his chagrin that he had applauded most loudly eulogistic references to himself. The other representatives of the United States were even less familiar with the language. None of them could converse in French. Jefferson declared that he was never sure he understood what was said to him; and when Silas Deane protested that he never spoke with English people in Paris, Beaumarchais remarked sarcastically, "He must then be the most silent man in France, for I defy him to say six words to a Frenchman."

Franklin never dared to write an official or business letter in French, but delegated that task to his secretary or to his

grandson. Even to his friend Chaumont he wrote in English, saying that it took too much time to write in French and was after all very bad French. "The best master of language," he said, "is a mistress," and he essayed to write in sprightly though stumbling French his gallant letters to fair and witty women. Madame Brillon corrected his exercises and his letters and some of these amended epistles are still in existence. The letter in reply to the above from Madame Brillon is in Franklin's handwriting, the italicized passages are Madame Brillon's corrections.

"Depuis que vous m'aves assuré que nous nous rencontrons *rencontrerons* et que nous nous reconnoitrons en paradis, j'ai pensé continuellement sur l'arrangement de nos Affaires dans ce pays la; car j'ai grand *grande* confiance en vos assurances, et je crois implicitement ce que vous croyés:

"Vraisemblablement plus que *de* 40 années couleroient *couleront* aprés mon arrivée là, avant que vous me suiveres *suiviés:* je crains, un peu, que dans la course d'une *d'un* si longue *long* temps, vous pouvés *ne puissiés* m'oubliér, c'est pourqu'oi j'ai eu la pensées de vous proposer de me donner votre parole d'honneur, de ne pas renouveller lá votre contrat avec Mr B. — je vous donnent au *donnerai en* mesme temps le mien *la mienne* de vous attendre mais ce monsieur est si bon, si génereux envers nous — il vous aime — et nous lui — si bien — que je ne puis [pas] penser [de] *a* cette proposition, sans quelque [s] [scrupules de] scrupule[s] de conscience — cependant l'idée d'une Eternité dans laquelle je ne serai pas plus favorisé que d'estre permis *d'avoir permission* de baiser vos mains, ou vos jouës quelquefois, et que de passér deux ou trois heures dans votre douce société les soirées des mercredis et samedis, c'est effroyable: enfin je ne

puis pas faire cette proposition, mais comme (avec tous ceux qui vous connoissent) je souhaitte de vous voir heureuse en toutes choses, nous pouvons agréer de n'en plus parlér a present et de la laisser a vous, *vous laisser la liberté d'en decider*, quand nous [*tous*] nous rencontrerons tous: lá d'en determiner comme vous jugerés le meilleur pour [la] vostre félicité et pour les nôtres, determines comme vous voudres, je sens que je vous aimera *aimerai* eternellement — si vous me rejetteres *rejettés*, peut estre je m'addresserai *m'addresseraije* a m^de^ D'hardancourt, et qui il *a qui il* plaira [peut estre a elle] de faire menage avec moi; alors je passerai mes heures domestiques agréablement avéc elle; et je serai plus a portée de vous voir, j'aurai asses de tems dans ces 40 années la, de pratiquer sur L'Armonica, et peut estre je jouerai assés bien pour estre digne d'accompagner votre forté piano, nous aurons de tems en tems de petits concerts: le bon pére pagin sera de la partie, votre voisin et sa chere famille [m^r^ jupin] *m^r^ de chaumont*, m^r^ B, m^r^ jourdon, m^r^ grammont, m^de^ du tartre, la petite mére, et d'autres amis choisis seroient *seront* notre auditoire, et les chéres bonnes filles accompagnées par quelques autres jeunes anges de qui vous m'avés déja donné les portraits, chanteroient *chanteront* avéc nous le alleluia, nous mangerons ensemble des pommes de paradis roties avéc du beure et de la muscade; et nous aurons pitié de ceux qui ne sont *seront* pas morts."

NOTES BY FRANKLIN

More than 40 years — Plus de (not que) 40 années.

To think of a thing — Penser à (not de) une chose.

To be permitted — D'avoir Permission (not d'être permis).

Perhaps I shall address myself — Peutêtre m'addresserai-je (not je m'addresserai).

Rough drafts of the following letters from Franklin are in The American Philosophical Society.

TO MADAME BRILLON

Etant revenu chez moi, j'étois surpris de trouver qu'il étoit presque onze heures. Je crains qu'oubliant toutes autres choses par notre trop d'attention au Jeu d'Echecs, nous vous avions beaucoup incommodé, en vous detenant si long temps dans le Bain. Dites moi, ma chere Amie, comment vous vous trouvez ce matin. Jamais je ne consentirai de commencer une Partie ci-aprés dans votre Chambre a baigner. Pouvez vous me pardonner cette Indiscretion?

Je vous envoye le Homere de M. Bitaubé. Cet aimable Homme a beaucoup d'envie d'étre connu de Mad[e] Brillon. Est il permis de l'amener avec moi le Mercredi prochain? Si cela n'est pas convenable pour vous, je l'eviterai —

Samedy onze heures de soir.

TO MADAME BRILLON

J'ai été bien mortifié hier au soir de n'avoir pas pu me rendre chez ma chere Amie. J'avois une VISITATION qui a durée jusqu à onze heures.

Bien des Remerciements pour votre soin obligeante en me procurant ces livres. Je les retournera bientôt en bon ordre. Je suis bien obligé aussi a M. de Bospin.

C'est vrai que j'ai souvent dit que je vous aime *trop*, et j'ai dit la verité. Jugez vous après une Comparaison que je va faire, qui de nous deux aime le plus. Si je demande d'un

Ami, j'ai besoin de vos Chevaux pour faire une Voyage pretez les a moi; & si il repond je serais bien aise de vous obliger, mais je crains qu'ils seront gatées par cette Voyage, & je ne peux pas me resoudre de les preter à personne; ne dois-je pas conclusse que cet homme aime ses chevaux plus qu'il ne m'aime? Et si dans le meme Cas je voudroit volontairement hazarder mes chevaux en les pretant a lui, n'est il pas clair que je l'aime plus que je ne 'aime mes chevaux, & aussi plus qu'il m'aime? Vous sçavez que je suis pret a sacrifier mes beaux & grands chevaux.

TO MADAME BRILLON

Qu'elle difference, ma chere amie entre vous et moi: vous me trouvez des fautes innombrables, tandis que je m'en vois qu'une en vous (mais, c'est peut être la faute de mes lunettes), j'entends cette espece d'avarice qui vous porte à monopoler sur touttes mes affections; et de ne m'en permettre aucunes, pour les aimables d'ames de votre pays. Vous vous imaginer qu'il n'est pas possible que mon Affection (ou ma tendresse). Soit diviser, sans être diminuer. Vous vous trompez; et vous oubliez la façon badine avec laquelle vous m'avez amette: vous renoncer, et donnez une exclusion totale à tout ce que notre amour pouvoit avoir de charnel en ne me permettant que quelques Baisers, civil et honnete, tels que vous en pourriez donner à quelques petits cousins: que m'en revient il donc tout, pour que je ne puisse pas en donner autant aux autres sans une diminution de ce qui vous appartient? Les Opperations de l'Esprit, l'Estime, l'Admiration, le Respect, et l'Affection même! (pour un objet) peuvent se multiplier autant que les objets qui le meritent se presentent; et cependant avoir la meme façon depenser pour le p^{r} Objet

qui n'a par consequent nul lieu de se plaindre d'une injure. Elles sont dans leur nature aussi divisibles que les sons doux du forte piano produits par vos mains habiles, vingt personnes à la fois peuvent en recevoir le même plaisir, sans diminuer celui qu' obligeament, vous me destinez et je pourrois (tout aussi peu raisonnablement) exiger de votre amitié, que ces doux sons ne puisse atteindre ni charmer d'autres oreilles que les miennes.

Vous voyez donc, d'apres cela combien vous étes injuste dans vos demandes, et dans la guerre ouverte que vous me declarer, si je n'y souscris pas; en effet, c'est moi qui ai le plus Sujet de me plaindre! mon pauvre petit amour, que vous auriez dû ce me semble cherir, au lieu d'être gras et joly (comme ceux de vos elegantes peintures) est maigre et pret a mourier de faim! faute d'une nouriture substantielle, que sa mere inhumainement lui refuse! et encore maintenant veut elle lui rogner ses petittes ailes afin qu'il n'en puisse pas aller chercher ailleurs! je m'imagine qu'aucuns de nous ne doit gagner aucunes choses dans cette guerre; et par consequent comme me sentant le plus foible, je ferai (ce qui en effet doit être fait par le plus sage) des propositions de paix.

Pour qu'une paix puisse etre durable il faut que les articles du traité soient reglés d'apres les principes de la plus parfaitte equité et egalité: dans cette vue j'ai dresse les articles suivants scavoir.

ARTICLE 1. — qu'il doit y avoir, paix, amitie, amour eternel entre M^de^ B. et Mr. Franklin.

ARTICLE 2. — en ordre de maintenir cette paix inviolable M^d^ B. de son côte Stipule et couvient que Mr. F. viendra chez elle touttes les fois qu'elle l'en priera.

ARTICLE 3. — qu'il restera chez elle autant et aussi longtems qu'il lui plaira.

ARTICLE 4. — qui lorsqu'il sera chez elle, il sera obligé de prendre le thé, jouer aux echeks, entendre de la Musique ou faire tout ce qu'elle pourroit puy demander.[1]

ARTICLE 5. — et qu'il n'aimera nul autre femme qu'elle.

ARTICLE 6. — et le dit Mr. F. de son coté stipule et couvient qu'il ira chez Mde B. autant qu'il lui plaira.

ARTICLE 7. — qu'il y demeura aussi longtems qu'il lui plaira.

ARTICLE 8. — que lors qu'il sera avec elle il fera tout ce qui lui plaira.

ARTICLE 9. — Et qu'il n'aimera aucunes autres femme tant qu'il la pouvera aimable.[2]

je vous en prie dites moi ce que vous pensez de ces preliminaires? Ils me semblent exprimer la vraye facon de penser et la veritable intention de chaque partie plus clairement que dans beaucoup de traités.

J'appuirai fortement d abord sur le 8eme Article quoique sans beaucoup d'espoir de votre consentement pour l'execution; et sur le 9eme aussi quoique je desespere de jamais trouver aucune autre femme que je puisse aimer avec une egale tendresse etant pour toujours ma chere chere Amie."

TO MADAME BRILLON

Vendredi matin

Ce n'est que hier au soir que votre Billet est venu à main. Voici la veritable Cause de ma Retraite. J'avois été de bout ces Matin la à quatre heures; je n'avois pas fait

[1] Bien entendu ce qu'il pourra faire.

[2] les femmes peuvent aller se noyer.

mon postscriptum; j'avois travaillé beaucoup; J'avois diné a Paris; & J'etois très fatigué, & fort disposé a dormir apres votre descente dans le jardin, & je commençois à le faire sur le banc pendant qu'on parloit à moi. Ainsi je le trouvois plus decent de me retirer & je m'etois couché devant huit heures. Il faut donc pardonner le grand VOISIN & tous les autres objets de votre Courraux, & avouer que vous aviez tort ma chere amie, je vous mettre en colere, de jurér contre tous le monde pour ce qui je m'ai oté une demie-heure plutôt qu'à mon ordinaire. Une demie-heure avec un Veillard que ne peut pas en faire la meilleur Usage, est une très petite Chose, & on ne dois pas se mettre en colere pour des petites choses. Samedi au Soir je restirai chez vous jusques vous souhaiterez ma depart, & malgré votre politesse usuelle de mots, je sçaurai le tems par votre refus dun petit Baiser.

TO MADAME BRILLON

J'envoyé incluse les petites Pieces que ma très chere Amie, m'a fait l'honneur de me demander. Celle sur le Jeu des Echecs dois lui etre dedicé le plus beau conseil qu'elle contient, etant copie d'apres sa maniere genereuse & magnanime de jouer que j'ai si souvent eprouvée.

Mon petit fils a été voir l'Hotel que vous avez bien voulu me proposer. Mais il le trouve trop magnifique pour de simples Republicains.

Agreez je vous prie mes sinceres Remerciements pour votre Offre obligeante. Je suis desolé qu'il ne puisse me convenir puisque cela m'auvoit approaché de vous, tres excellente Femme, que j'aime, estime, & respecte de fond de mon cœur.

TO MADAME BRILLON

Je trouve comme vous, que dans cette Vie il y a beaucoup de Peines. Mais il me semble aussi qu'il y a beaucoup plus des Plaisirs. C'est pourquoi j'aime à Vivre. Il ne faut pas blamer la Providence inconsidèrement. Reflechissez combien de nos Devoirs même elle a ordonnées d'etre naturellement des Plaisirs; & qu'elle a eu la Bonté de plus, de donner le Nom de Pechés a plusieurs afin que nous en jouissions avec plus de Gout.

MADAME BRILLON TO DR. FRANKLIN

25th of December at Nice.

The atonement is adequate, my dear Papa. I shall no longer call you *Monseigneur* nor even *Monsieur*. My petition succeeded before reaching you; our tears are dried. You love us, you tell us so; you are in good health, and are as roguish as ever, since you are planning to steal me from Brillon, and to take me on a trip to America without letting any one know it. Everything is as usual. I recognize your fine mask, and I am very glad. But, my good Papa, why say that you write French badly, — that your pleasantries in that language are only nonsense? To make an academic discourse, one must be a good grammarian; but to write to our friends all we need is a heart, and you combine with the best heart, when you wish, the soundest moral teaching, a lively imagination, and that droll roguishness which shows that the wisest of men allows his wisdom to be perpetually broken against the rocks of femininity. Write me therefore, write me often and much, or through spite I shall learn English. I should want to know it quickly, and that would

hurt me as I have been forbidden all study, and you would be the cause of my ills, for having refused me a few lines of your bad French, which my family and I — and we are not simpletons — consider very good; ask my neighbors, ask Mr. d'Estaing, Mme. Helvétius and her abbés, if it would be right on your part to prejudice the improvement which the sun here has caused in my health, for the sake of a little pride which is beneath My Lord the Ambassador, Benjamin Franklin.

TO MADAME BRILLON

Passy March 10.

I am charm'd with the goodness of my spiritual guide, and resign myself implicitly to her Conduct, as she promises to lead me to heaven in so delicious a Road when I could be content to travel thither even in the roughest of all ways with the pleasure of her Company.

How kindly partial to her Penitent in finding him, on examining his conscience, guilty of only one capital sin and to call that by the gentle name of Foible!

I lay fast hold of your promise to absolve me of all Sins past, present, & future, on the easy & pleasing Condition of loving God, America and my guide above all things. I am in Rapture when I think of being absolv'd of the future.

People commonly speak of Ten Commandments. — I have been taught that there are twelve. The first was increase & multiply & replenish the earth. The twelfth is, A new Commandment I give unto you, *that you love one another.* It seems to me that they are a little misplaced, And that the last should have been the first. However I never made any difficulty about that, but was always willing to

obey them both whenever I had an opportunity. Pray tell me my dear Casuist, whether my keeping religiously these two commandments tho' not in the Decalogue, may not be accepted in Compensation for my breaking so often one of the ten I mean that which forbids Coveting my neighbour's wife, and which I confess I break constantly God forgive me, as often as I see or think of my lovely Confessor, and I am afraid I should never be able to repent of the Sin even if I had the full Possession of her.

And now I am Consulting you upon a Case of Conscience I will mention the Opinion of a certain Father of the church which I find myself willing to adopt though I am not sure it is orthodox. It is this, that the most effectual way to get rid of a certain Temptation is, as often as it returns, to comply with and satisfy it.

Pray instruct me how far I may venture to practice upon this Principle?

But why should I be so scrupulous when you have promised to absolve me of the future?

Adieu my charming Conductress and believe me ever with the sincerest Esteem & affection.

Your most obed't hum. Serv.

[B. F.]

Many delightful days Franklin spent at Auteuil in the hospitable home of Madame Helvétius, enjoying the music rendered by the two daughters (the Stars) of the hostess, and the conversation of the younger Cabanis, and the two abbés, Morellet and De la Roche. It was Madame Helvétius who complained that Franklin had not been to see her for a long time, and received the explanatory and apologetic answer,

"I am waiting, Madame, until the nights are longer." Madame Brillon called her "my amiable rival," and bade Franklin kiss her for himself and for her. After he had returned to America, Madame Helvétius exclaimed to her: "Ah, that great man, that dear man, we shall see him no more." To which Madame Brillon retorted, "It is entirely your fault, Madame."

She had been beautiful when young, but when Franklin became acquainted with her at the age of sixty, she was popularly compared with the ruins of Palmyra. Mrs. John Adams met her, and the Puritan was astonished and disgusted at the behaviour of the French lady of the *salon*. This is her faithful and amusing description of the scene:—

"She entered the room with a careless jaunty air; upon seeing ladies who were strangers to her, she bawled out, 'Ah, mon Dieu, where is Franklin? Why did you not tell me there were ladies here?' You must suppose her speaking all this in French. 'How I look!' said she, taking hold of a chemise made of tiffany, which she had on over a blue lute-string, and which looked as much upon the decay as her beauty, for she was once a handsome woman; her hair was frizzled; over it she had a small straw hat, with a dirty gauze half-handkerchief round it, and a bit of dirtier gauze than ever my maids wore was bowed on behind. She had a black gauze scarf thrown over her shoulders. She ran out of the room; when she returned, the Doctor entered at one door, she at the other; upon which she ran forward to him, caught him by the hand, 'Hélas! Franklin!'; then gave him a double kiss, one upon each cheek, and another upon his forehead. When we went into the room to dine, she was placed between the Doctor and Mr. Adams. She carried

on the chief of the conversation at dinner, frequently locking her hands into the Doctor's, and sometimes spreading her arms upon the backs of both the gentlemen's chairs, then throwing her arm carelessly upon the Doctor's neck.

"I should have been greatly astonished at this conduct, if the good Doctor had not told me that in this lady I should see a genuine Frenchwoman, wholly free from affectation or stiffness of behaviour, and one of the best women in the world. For this I must take the Doctor's word; but I should have set her down for a very bad one, although sixty years of age, and a widow. I own I was highly disgusted, and never wish for an acquaintance with any ladies of this cast. After dinner she threw herself upon a settee where she showed more than her feet. She had a little lap-dog, who was, next to the Doctor, her favourite. This she kissed, and when he wet the floor, she wiped it up with her chemise. This is one of the Doctor's most intimate friends, with whom he dines once every week, and she with him. She is rich, and is my near neighbour; but I have not yet visited her. Thus you see, my dear, that manners differ exceedingly in different countries.

"I hope, however, to find amongst the French ladies manners more consistent with my ideas of decency, or I shall be a mere recluse."

No contraries could hold more antipathy than a New England Puritan and such a product of sceptical and unconventional eighteenth-century France. That she was well liked by men and popular in social assemblies in Paris we have more than the testimony of Franklin who told her that "statesmen, philosophers, historians, poets, and men of learning of all sorts are drawn round you, and seem as

willing to attach themselves to you as straws about a fine piece of amber." Upon her convalescence from a long illness, four hundred persons gathered at Auteuil, and a company of actors from Paris gave a performance of "Philoctetus."

All of the known letters addressed by Franklin to her are contained in this edition, save a few unimportant and undated notes. One is in response to a reminder from Madame Helvétius that she expected to meet him at a social entertainment given by the Turgots. He wrote: "Mr. Franklin never forgets any party at which Madame Helvétius is expected. He even believes that if he were engaged to go to Paradise this morning, he would pray for permission to remain on earth until half-past one, to receive the embrace promised him at the Turgots'." In the Bibliothèque National is a little note containing a mathematical paradox, and inviting Madame Helvétius to breakfast: —

"Tres chere Amie, nous aurons de bonne Musique demain matin a dejeuner; pouvez vous me faire le Plaisir de la participer? Il sera a dix heures et demi. Voici une Probleme qu'un Mathematicien aura de la peine à expliquer; en partageant d'autres choses, chacun de nous n'a qu'une part: mais en partageant les Plaisirs avec vous, ma Portion est doublées. *Le Part est plus que le Tout.*"

"Vendredi."

In another letter he speculates upon her success in attracting friends: —

". . . And now I mention your friends, let me tell you, that I have in my way been trying to form some hypothesis to account for your having so many, and of such various kinds.

I see that statesmen, philosophers, historians, poets, and men of learning of all sorts are drawn around you, and seem as willing to attach themselves to you as straws about a fine piece of amber. It is not that you make pretentions to any of their sciences; and if you did, similarity of studies does not always make people love one another. It is not that you take pains to engage them; artless simplicity is a striking part of your character. I would not attempt to explain it by the story of the ancient, who, being asked why philosophers sought the acquaintance of kings, and kings not that of philosophers, replied that philosophers knew what they wanted, which was not always the case with kings. Yet thus far the comparison may go, that we find in your sweet society that charming benevolence, that amiable attention to oblige, that disposition to please and be pleased, which we do not always find in the society of one another. It springs from you; it has its influence on us all, and in your company we are not only pleased with you, but better pleased with one another and with ourselves."

FROM MADAME HELVÉTIUS TO DR. FRANKLIN

July, 1787

quelle bonheur, vous avez répendu, mon cher franklin, dans notre petite retraitre nous nous somme toutes assemblé pour lire et relire vos charmente lettre que vous avez de ma vie interieures, de jours que vous avez passé avec nous, du bien que vous avez rependue dans nous aine; je ne vous quittoist jaimais fort en valoir mieux le lendemin écrive moi souvent mon cher ami, vos lettres produises presque le même effait sur moi par ce quelle me rappelle plus fortement toutes vos vertues, et ces beaux caracteres, noble, et simple que

j'admire tant en vous: nous ne nous revoir donc plus dans ce monde, h'o mon cher ami, que ce soit donc dans lautre; les detail de votre vie interieur menchante, j'aime cette charmente Md. biche — que ne vie que pour vous, et qui c'est pour vous donnée plus l'object que puisse contribuée a votre bonheur ces sir enfent font surement, bon, et emable, comme benjamin le vrai bonheur et bien dans la fammille, et dans ses amies quand les circonstance?

comme a moi je voye souvent mes petite etoilles et mes toutes petites étoilles; mais je ne vie pas tout les jours avec (elles et el faut vive tous les jours avec ce que lon.aime), j'ai donc toujours mes trois amies qui ne me quittent pas du tout et aux quelle je Suis absolument necessaire comme il me les sont, ma santé n'est plus aussi bonne que vous je devient vielle mon cher bonne ami, et je nent consolle par ce que me raprocher davantage de vous, nous nous raison philosophiquement et plus tôt nous retrouverons avec tout ce que nous avons aimé, moy en mary, et vous uné femme mais je croye vous qui avez été un quoquain que vous en retroveraye plus d'une, mon cher franklin je vous, envoye pour Md biche ce qui étoist marque dans la petite notte qui je croie d'elle, et j'ajoute une petite redingotte faite pour moi. qui lui servira de modelle si elle trouvé cette abillement comode. Comme j'en ait fait faire deux je lui en envoye une l'etoffe n'est pas belle, mai c'est un des modele qui peut me plaire.

dite à benjamin que je me recommande toujours a lui pour les cardinal quand il viendera en france on un de ces ami il me les aportera. je ne suis pas pressé dutout; 'attenderaye, car je ne veux point ces jolie créature morte, j'attenderaye. adieu mon cher bon ame, je vous embrace de toutes

me forces, de toutes mon ame mille baisé aussi à vos deux petites efents, que je connais, je croix que vous ne puisse pas lire mon grifanage, mes amis que vous écrive vont encore vous parlez de moi et d'une maniere plus comode pour vous. Adieu, mon cher et bonne ami.

VIGNIVELLE HELVÉTIUS.

Franklin bequeathed to George Washington a fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty. It was a present to him from Madame de Forbach, the Dowager Duchess of Deux-Ponts. Accompanying the present were the following verses:—

À M^r. FRANKLIN

En lui présentant, de la part de Madame la Comtesse Douairiere de Deux Ponts, un baton d'épine surmonté d'une pomme d'or, figurant le chapeau de la liberté

Dans les plaines de Marathon,
Où l'insolence Musulmane
A d'éternels affronts condamne
La postérité de Solon;
Parmi la ronce et les épines
Qui couvrent ces bords malheureux,
Et cachent les cendres divines
Des sages, des héros fameux,
La Liberté, votre déesse,
Avant d'abandonner la Grece,
Arracha ce bâton noueux:
On le vit aux Alpes Pennines,
Pour terrasser l'Autrichien,
Briller entre les javelines
Du valeureux Helvétien;
Elle en fit depuis une lance,
Lorsque dans les champs de Trenton
Elle dirigeoit la vaillance
Et l'audace de Washington.
Ce symbole de la victoire

Qu'orne aujourd'hui le chapeau du grand Tell,
Ce ferme appui que votre gloire
Rendra désormais immortel,
Assurera vos pas au Temple de Mémoire.[1]

—*De l'Imprimerie de Didot l'Aîné* 1783.

Madame Forbach also presented him with a pair of scissors, in acknowledgment of which he wrote to her:—

I received my dear Friend's kind Present of the Scissars, which are exactly what I wanted, & besides their usefulness to me have a great additional Value by the Hand from which they came. It is true that I can now neither walk abroad nor write at home without having something that may remind me of your Goodness towards me; you might have added, that I can neither play at Chess nor drink Tea without the same Sensation: but these had slipt your Memory. There are People who forget the Benefits they receive, Mad[e] de Forbach only those she bestows. — But the Impression you have made on my Mind as one of the best, wisest & most amiable Women I ever met with, renders every other means to make me think of you unnecessary. — My best Wishes will attend you to Germany, & wherever else you may happen to be, being with the sincerest Esteem & Respect, (will you permit me to add Affection) Your most obliged & obedient humble Servant

B. F.[2]

The Countess d'Houdetot is well known to every reader of Rousseau's "Confessions." Her *salon* was famous, and her wit and beauty were extolled by the arbiters of letters and

[1] These verses were printed at the request of Franklin, by Didot the elder, in 1783.

[2] From a rough draft in U. of P.

society. She was well acquainted with the family of Crèvecœur, and commended that singularly interesting author and patriot to the fostering care of Franklin. She gave a *fête champêtre* in honour of Franklin at her country-seat at Sanois, in the valley of Montmorency. It was the 12th of April, 1781. He was met by her family half a mile from the château, and handed from his carriage by the Countess who bade him welcome with the following verses of her own creation.

"Ame du héros, et du Sage
Oh liberté! premier bienfait des dieux!
Hélas! c'est de trop loin que nous t'offrons des vœux;
Ce n'est qu'en soupirant que nous rendons hommage
Au mortel qui forma des citoyens heureux."

At dinner a stanza was recited or sung by each of the guests with each glass of wine.

"De Benjamin célébrons la mémoire,
Chantons le bien qu'il a fait aux mortels;
En Amérique il aura des autels,
Et dans Sanoy nous buvons à sa gloire."

At the second glass, the Countess sang the following quatrain:—

"Il rend ses droits à l'humaine nature,
Pour l'affranchir il voulut l'éclairer,
Et la vertu, pour se faire adorer,
De Benjamin emprunta la figure."

At the third glass, the Viscount d'Houdetot sang:—

"Guillaume Tell fut brave, mais sauvage;
J'estime plus notre cher Benjamin;
De l'Amérique en fixant le destin,
A table il rit, et c'est là le vrai sage."

At the fourth, the Viscountess sang:—

"Je dis aussi, vive Philadelphie!
L'indépendance a de quoi me tenter;
Dans ce pays je voudrais habiter,
Quoiqu'il n'y ait ni bal ni comédie."

At the fifth, Madame de Pernan:—

"Tous nos enfants apprendront de leurs mères
A vous aimer, vous croire et vous bénir;
Vous enseignez ce qui peut rèunir
Tous les humains dans les bras d'un seul père."

At the sixth, Count de Tressan:—

"Vive Sanoy! C'est ma Philadelphie
Lorsque j'y vois son cher législateur;
J'y rajeunis dans le sein du bonheur,
J'y ris, j'y bois, et j'écoute Sophie."

At the seventh, the Count d'Apché:—

"Pour soutenir cette charte sacrée
Qu'Edouard accorda aux Anglais,
Je sens qu'il n'est de chevalier Français
Qui ne désire employer son épée."

After dinner Franklin at the request of the Countess planted in the garden a Virginia locust tree, when another stanza was repeated which was inscribed upon a marble pillar near the tree.

"Arbre sacré, durable monument
Du séjour qu'en ces lieux a daigné faire un sage,
De ces jardins devenu l'ornement,
Recevez-y le juste hommage
De nos vœux et de notre encens;
Et puissiez-vous dans tous les âges,
A jamais respecté du temps,
Vivre autant que son nom, ses lois et ses ouvrages."

On their return, they were met by a band of music, which accompanied the whole family in the following song:—

"Que cet arbre, planté par sa main bienfaisante,
Elevant sa tige naissante
Au dessus du stérile ormeau,
Par sa fleur odoriférante,
Parfume l'air de cet heureux hameau.
La foudre ne pourra l'atteindre,
Elle respectera son faite et ses rameaux;
Franklin nous enseigna par ses heureux travaux

A la diriger ou à l'eteindre,
Tandis qu'il détruisait des maux
Pour la terre encore plus à plaindre."

Toward evening Dr. Franklin was reconducted by the whole company to his carriage, and, before the door was shut, the Countess pronounced the following complimentary verses composed by herself: —

"Législateur d'un monde, et bienfaiteur des deux,
L'homme dans tous les temps te devra ses hommages;
Et je m'acquitte dans ces lieux
De la dette de tous les âges."

The genuine regard that he had for her and the happy memory of the glad hours at Sanois are reflected in a letter from Philadelphia:[1] —

TO MADAME D'HOUDETOT

I have received several kind Letters from my beloved Friend, all of which gave me great Pleasure as they inform'd me of your Welfare. The Memory of your Friendship, & of the happy Hours I have passed in your sweet Society at Sanois, has often made me regret the Distance, that makes our ever meeting again impossible. I wrote a few Lines to you last Year, and sent them under Cover to M. St. Jean de Crèvecœur, believing him then in France, but he arrived here soon after. I hope however that my Letter may have reach'd you; for as I grow older, I find Writing more painful; and I never have been more Bother'd with Business than since my Return. This however will cease in a great degree with the third and last Year of my Presidentship of which near four Months are now spent. The Accounts I have heard of the

[1] In L. C. It is undated, but from its reference to his term of service as president of Pennsylvania, must have been written in February, 1788.

Misunderstandings and Trouble that has arisen in the Government of that dear Country in which I pass'd nine of the happiest Years of my Life, gave me a great deal of Pain; but I hope all will tend to its Good in the End. We have been labouring here to establish a new Form of Federal Government for all the United States and there is a Probability of its being adopted and carried into Execution, it being difficult to reconcile and accommodate so many & jarring Interests. If the Project succeeds our Government will be more energetic, and we shall be in a better condition of being serviceable to our Friends on any future Occasion.

Adieu ma chere & toujours-aimable Amie, and believe me ever

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

She wrote in reply:—

Sannois, le 26 Aoust 1788.

Je n'ay pu aprendre, mon cher et vénérable Docteur l'heureux evenement qui donne une Constitution à votre pays sans éprouver le sentiment le plus doux dont le cœur humain soit susceptible, celuy de voir le bonheur d'une partie du globe assuré par les progrès de la raison et le succès des lumières. La part que vous et l'illustre Wasington avés à cet évenement y ajoute le plaisir de voir la vertu heureuse, et recompensée par le plus digne des succès. Si aucune œuvre humaine n'a le sceau de la perfection, s'il ya encore quelque chose à reformer dans la constitution que vous adoptés, les mêmes lumières qui l'ont organisée la perfectionneront un jour et vous goutés au moins le bien le plus necessaire à votre conservation, celuy d'en avoir une, je jouis moy du spectacle de

la vieillesse contente du complement de gloire et de bonheur que le ciel devait à votre belle carrière.

Acceptés mes félicitations mon cher et vénérable Docteur vous connaissés le cœur qui vous les offre et combien il est remply de vénération et d'attachement pour vous. On m'assure que votre santé est bonne, le bonheur de votre pays prolongera encore votre belle vie qui sera aussi rare par sa durée qu'elle l'aura été par les talens et les vertus qui l'ont remplie. Permettés moy de serrer contre mon cœur avec une tendresse religieuse l'homme de mon siècle qui me paraist meriter le mieux les respects du genre humain et de vous repeter ce que je vous ay dit dans ma petite feste de Sannois.

" Législateur d'un monde et
Bienfaiteur des deux
L'homme dans tous les tems te devra ses hommages
Et je m'acquitte dans ces lieux
De la dette de tous les âges."

LA C^TESSE D'HOUDETOT.

In another letter written to Philadelphia she again refers to the tree-planting.

Sannois le 7 May 1787

J'ay écrit à mon cher et vénérable docteur plusieurs lettres dont j'ignore le sort. Mais je ne puis laisser passer une occasion sure sans luy renouveller l'homage de mon attachement et de ma tendre vénération. J'ose vous suplier mon cher et respectable docteur d'estre persuadé que les traces en sont inefaceables. J'ay joui avec délices de votre heureux et triomphant retour dans cette patrie qui vous doit tant et où vous emportiés les vœux des deux Mondes. Puissiés vous achever doucement une carrière encore longtems prolongée entre les bras de vos parans, de vos compatriotes

reconnaissans. Vous aurés été instruit des révolutions qui se sont passées dans l'administration de notre païs et l'interest que vous prenéz à nous vous fera admirer les étranges circonstances qui nous donnent dans ce moment pour Ministre principal un élève, un émule de M^r^. Turgot et par conséquent l'espérance du plus beau gouvernement, nos alliés y gagneront sans doute, car tout gagne quand la raison gouverne; puisse seulement estre plus durable le bien que nous espérons. Adieu mon cher Docteur songés quelque fois à moi, à Sannois, à cet arbre vénéré, planté de vos mains et qui croist sur ce coin de terre qui m'apartient et où il m'est si doux de penser à vous et de rendre homage à vos vertus à vos lumières et à tout ce qui vous rend respectable et cher a l'humanité. C'est là, vous le scavés mon genre de dévotion et vous êtes un de mês Saints.

His first visit to Sanois was in April, 1781, the second in June, 1784. The arrangements for the latter are set forth in the following letter:—

Me permettés-vous mon cher et vénérable docteur de vous demander de vos nouvelles; et dans l'éloignement où je suis de vous de m'informer au moins comment vous vous portés et si vous pensés quelques fois à la personne la plus remplie des sentimens de l'attachement le plus tendre et de la plus profonde vénération. Je ne puis oublier la touchante bonté avec laquelle vous avés bien voulu songer aux moyens de venir encore embellir ma solitude que vous avés déjà consacrée; et je n'ay songé qu à vous en faciliter les moyens. Je me suis assuré d'un yacht commode, dont vous disposerés en prévenant quelques jours d'avance affin qu'il soit parfaitement en état, il appartient à M^r^. de la Ferté des Menns (?)

et il sera à vos ordres ainsy que son batellier, avec lesquels j'ay même fait prix pour que vous n'en soyés pas obéré; ils demandent soixante livres l'allée et la venue. Ils vous conduiraient à Epinay, qui est à une petite lieue de chez moy, ou j'irais vous recevoir, vous auriez dans votre promenade à pied le thé et du repos à une maison à moitié chemin. En allant par eau jusqu'à Argenteuil vous auriés moins de chemin à pied de près de moitié mais il faut un peu monter le chemin n'est pas si doux; il faudrait, mon cher Docteur que cela s'executât au mois ou nous entrons, je quitte Sannois au mois de Juillet pour voyager et d'ailleurs la saison serait trop chaude et la campagne moins belle, vous n'auriez qu'à m'informer du jour ou vous voudriés partir et celuy de votre retour, il faut au moins plusieurs jours de séjour chez moy, si cela pouvait aller à huit ou plus. Ah! mon cher Docteur quelle peine pour moy se je n'ay fait là qu'un beau songe. Je m'en remets à votre bonté, à votre prudence, à la persuasion où vous devés être que je ne voudrais pas acheter le plus grand plaisir de ma vie aux risques de vous exposer à la moindre incommodité. Decidés donc de mon sort mon cher Docteur et tel qu'il soit rappelés vous la tendre amitié et l'estime de celle qui vous écrit en particulier et le respect et la reconnaissance qu'elle partage avec le reste des hommes. Permettés moi de me recommander aux soins et aux souvenirs de Monsieur Franklin votre petit fils qui vous accompagnera à ce que j'espère. Je serais bien charmée si vous vouliés aussy m'amenner ce jeune petit fils que j'ay chez vous dont la figure charmante est dejà parée d'un si beau caractère de franchise et de liberté.

LA C^TESSE D'HOUDETOT.

à Sannois le 31 May 1784.

John Adams records another of Franklin's admirations. He says, "Mr. Franklin, who at the age of seventy odd had neither lost his love of beauty nor his taste for it, called Mademoiselle de Passy his favourite, and his flame, and his love, which flattered the family and did not displease the young lady." This girl, one of the most beautiful in France, was contracted to the Marquis de Tonnerre. When the engagement was announced, Madame de Chaumont said to Franklin, "Hélas! tous les conducteurs de Monsieur Franklin n'ont pas empêché le tonnerre de tomber sur Mademoiselle de Passy." In the same spirit of pleasantry Franklin wrote to the bride's mother, Madame de Boulainvilliers: "It gives me great Pleasure Madam my respected Neighbour to learn that our lovely Child is soon to be married with your Approbation & that we are not however to be immediately depriv'd of her Company. I assure you I shall make no Use of my Paratonnerre to prevent this Match. I pray God to favour it with his choicest Blessings, and that it may afford many Occasions of Felicity to all concerned. I wish you and yours a thousand happy Returns of this Season, and am, with affectionate Respect.

"Madam etc.

"B. F."

Franklin had high regard for his fellow academician Jean Baptiste Le Roy. He belonged to a talented family. Three of his brothers had won distinction in science. Franklin wrote the "Maritime Observations" for Julien David Le Roy.

Merry meetings took place in the house of the Le Roy family, at which occasions a *chanson à boire* composed by J. B. LeRoy was sung to the air of *des treize Cantons.*

CHANSON

Que l'histoire sur L'airain
Grave le nom de Franklin
Pour moi je veux à sa gloire
Faire une chanson à boire
Le verre en main
Chantons notre Benjamin.

En politique il est grand
A table joyeux et franc
Tout enfondant un Empire
Vous le voyez boire et rire
Le Verre en Main
Chantons notre Benjamin.

The wife of Le Roy was admired of Franklin. He called her *petite femme de poche*, — addressed her so in his letters, and she replied in like manner. I have been able to find but two letters written to her, though several sent by her to Franklin are in Philadelphia and Washington. She invited him to dinner, "Voule vous mon cher ami, dine avec moi Mercredi, j'ay la plus grande envie des vous voire et de vous embrasse." To which he promptly and gallantly replied, "Assurement je ne manquerai pas de me rendre chez vous Mercredi prochaine. J'ai trop de plaisir en vous voyant, en vous entendant parler, & trop de Felicité quand je vous ai entre mes bras, pour oublier une Invitation si precieuse."

In 1787 he wrote to her from Philadelphia: —

"J'ai reçu la charmante petit Billet de ma trés bonne petite femme de poche. Je ne l'ai pas oublié, comme elle suppose, quoique ma long Silence donne quelque semblanse à cette Idee; mais j'ai été trop embarassé des Affaires de toute espece, qui ne m'ont pas permis d'écrire Lettres a mes Amis. Neantmoins j'ai pensé souvent de vous, & de votre ancienne

Amitié pour moi, avec les Sentiments le plus vives d'Estime & d'Affection. Vous etiez bien courageuse de monter si haut en l'Air par le Ballon. Et vous etiez bien bonne, qu'étant si près des Cieux, vous n'avez pas pensé de nous quitter & rester chez les Anges. Je vous embrasse bien tendrement, & je vous souhaite toute sorte de Felicité. Adieu."[1]

The *petite femme de poche* replied (June 23, 1787):—

"Vous me complimentez mon cher bon papa sur mon courage d'avoir monté dans un ballon. Helas cela n'a servi qu'à me donner des regrets de ce qu'on ne pouvoit pas aller bien loin avec. Car si cette voiture avoit pu me transporter vers vous j'aurois été aux anges et j'y serois resté mon cher papa et vous auroit prouvé toute la considération toute l'estime que vous avez gravé dans mon cœur d'une manière ineffacable. Je suis enchantée que vous portiez, je fais des vœux bien sincerès pour que vous viviez longtemps avec une santé parfaite. Les grands hommes devraient être immortels pour le bien de l'humanité et des sciences dont vous faites le triomphe. Je vous suis très obligé de toutes les félicités que vous me souhaitez. Hélas je n'en ai plus pour moi j'ai tout perdu, je n'ai plus de mari, il ne vit plus pour moi; tout ce qui ne devrait pas le posséder en jouit. Il abandonne tout, l'honneur, le véritable sentiment ne lui est plus de rien. Il n'aime que ce qui a fait mon malheur. Adieu mon cher bon ami je vous assure que tant que j'aurai le souffle de la vie votre petite femme de poche vous aimera, elle vous embrasse de tout son cœur.

"Ce 23de Juin 1787 Rue Denfer près le Luxembourg Nº 122. Si vous me faites encore l'amitié de m'écrire voila mon

[1] From a rough draft in L. C.

adresse à Mme Le Roy née Baronne de Messey et la suite de l'adresse de ma lettre.

"J'ai vue samedi dernier votre amie Mme Helvétius et nous avons bien parlé de vous, je vous assure de toute son amitié, elle est outrée des procédés de mon mari envers moi, elle sait mieux que personne que je ne les merite nullement, il la fuit et tout ce qui m'aime et n'aime que ce qui a intérêt de me faire hair de lui et ce qui n'aime pas les femmes honnêtes."[1]

It was a gallant life and a brilliant society that is mirrored in the correspondence of Paris, Passy, and Auteuil. A faint perfume lingers yet about the letters which once throbbed with passion or smiled with joy. Amid the statues and fountains of Versailles fair women had crowned with flowers an ambassador who had embodied all the promise of the alluring future. The last picture that dwells with us presents an old and crippled man, seated in his garden, in Franklin court, waited upon by a "very gross and rather homely" daughter, surrounded by a group of young and boisterous grandchildren, and visited by strangers prompted by curiosity or reverence. A few steps away is the state-house where liberty was proclaimed. His thoughts wander across the sea. His mind is busy with the recollection of friends a thousand leagues away, across whose lives the chill shadow of an impending doom is already falling.

CHAPTER XII

RETURN TO AMERICA

UPON the 2d of May, 1785, Franklin received the permission of Congress to return to America. The following

[1] From the original in A. P. S.

day he notified the Count de Vergennes and begged him, inasmuch as his malady prevented him paying his devoirs at Versailles personally, to express respectfully for him to his Majesty the deep sense he had of all the inestimable benefits his goodness had conferred upon America. "My sincere prayers are that God may shower down his blessings on the King, the Queen, their children, and all the royal family to the latest generations." Vergennes replied:—

Versailles, 22 May, 1785.

SIR,

I have learned with much concern of your retiring and of your approaching departure for America. You cannot doubt but that the regrets which you will leave will be proportionate to the consideration you so justly enjoy.

I can assure you, Sir, that the esteem the King entertains for you does not leave you anything to desire, and that his Majesty will learn with real satisfaction that your fellow citizens have rewarded, in a manner worthy of you, the important services that you have rendered.

I beg, Sir, that you will preserve for me a share in your remembrance, and never doubt the sincerity of the interest I take in your happiness. It is founded on the sentiments of attachment, of which I have assured you, and with which I have the honour to be, etc.

DE VERGENNES.

The king said to Vergennes when the minister was taking his orders, "Je desire que Monsieur Franklin sait bien traité." The royal present was a large miniature of the king, set with four hundred and eight diamonds of a beautiful water forming a wreath round the picture, and a crown on

the top. It was valued at fifteen hundred louis d'ors. Franklin gave his "introductor" a gold enamelled snuff-box, of about one hundred and fifty louis d'ors' value, and understanding that it would be more agreeable to his assistant, M. de Sequeville, to receive his present in money, he sent him a *rouleau* of fifty louis d'ors.[1]

Franklin began at once his preparations for the homeward journey. His malady had advanced to that stage that any exertion or motion was painful to him. For a considerable time he had not been able to go about save on a litter in a barge upon the Seine. The difficulties, therefore, in the way of reaching the sea seemed almost insurmountable. Moreover, he could not but at heavy expense sail from Havre, for a vessel touching at that port thereby made her insurance void, and to insure with permission to touch there meant a large addition to the premium. Attempts had been made in London to accommodate John Jay in that way, "but none would go under from two to four hundred guineas." If Franklin should not be at Havre at the moment of the ship's sailing, the expense of her waiting would be about five guineas a day.

M. de Castries, Minister of Marine, wrote to Franklin (July 10, 1785):—

SIR

I was not apprized, until within a few hours, of the arrangements which you have made for your departure. Had I been informed of it sooner, I should have proposed to the King to order a frigate to convey you to your own country, in a manner suitable to the known importance of the services

[1] W. T. Franklin to Thomas Jefferson, April 27, 1790 (L. C.). Lee and Deane received royal presents worth three hundred louis d'ors.

you have been engaged in, to the esteem you have acquired in France, and the particular esteem which his Majesty entertains for you.

I pray you, Sir, to accept my regrets, and the renewed assurance of the most entire consideration, with which I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DE CASTRIES.

One of the queen's litters, borne by Spanish mules, was placed at his disposal by the Duc de Coigny, and at a footpace the long journey to the coast was begun.[1]

Thomas Jefferson had been appointed, March 10, 1785, Franklin's successor as minister plenipotentiary. He had already been seven months in France under a commission to assist Franklin and Adams in negotiating commercial treaties with the European powers. He had noticed the universal admiration and reverence with which Franklin was regarded. He said: "There appeared to me more respect and veneration attached to the character of Franklin in France than to that of any other person in the same country, foreign or native. I had frequent opportunities of knowing particularly how far these sentiments were felt by the foreign ambassadors and ministers at the court of Versailles. . . . The succession to Dr. Franklin at the court of France was an excellent school of

[1] A Paris le 4 Août 1785.

Je suis très aise, Monsieur d'avoir pu faire quelquechose qui vous soit agréable en vous procurant une littière de la petite écurie du Roy pour vous conduire au Havre. Je suis charmé que vous en ayez été content, ainsy que du conducteur, et d'avoir cette nouvelle occasion de vous assurer du parfait et sincère attachement avec lequel j'ay l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur.

LE DUC DE COIGNY.

humility. On being presented to any one as the minister of America, the commonplace question used in such cases was, 'Il est vous, Monsieur, qui remplacez le Docteur Franklin? It is you, Sir, who replace Dr. Franklin?' I generally answered, 'No one can replace him, Sir; I am only his successor.'"[1]

Of the journey to Havre, and thence to Cowes where he embarked in a Philadelphia ship commanded by Captain Truxtun, he has left an account in his diary.

All the world followed his slow progress with close attention. While his baggage was being sent to the sea by a barge upon the Seine, he performed his last public act in Europe which was to sign a treaty of amity and commerce with Prussia. "I have continued," he wrote to his sister, "to work till late in the day; it is time I should go home and go to bed."

A letter from Jefferson followed him to the shore.

Paris July 18. 1785.

SIR

I heard with much pleasure yesterday of your safe arrival at Rouen, and that you had not been much fatigued with the journey. This gives me hopes that you will find less difficulty in the rest of the voiage. on my parting with you at Passy I went to the Duke of Dorset's. he was not at home. I asked an hour the next day and waited on him. he promised to write the necessary letters to England to protect your baggage. Independantly of this I wrote to Mr Adams by

[1] February 12, 1791. See Jefferson's Works, III, 211. Jefferson also wrote to Congress: "Europe fixes an attentive eye on your reception of Doctor Franklin. He is infinitely esteemed. Do not neglect any mark of your approbation which you think proper. It will honour you here."

Mr Harrison who left this the day before you. I hope therefore that between the two agents you will meet with no difficulty at Cowes. we have nothing new since your departure worth your notice. a Monsr Duplessis called here to desire me to have copied for you a long memoire on some animals (I think) of South America. I knew neither the person nor subject, nor how far it might be interesting to you, and as it appeared to contain many sheets of paper, & I had no secretary, I declined copying it myself. if it is any thing you wish to see & will drop me a line I will have it copied. be pleased to make my compliments to your grandsons and be assured of the esteem with which I have the honour to be, etc,

TH. JEFFERSON.[1]

The Bishop of St. Asaph, Benjamin Vaughan, and William Franklin were at the Isle of Wight waiting to say farewell to him. From them he learned of the death of his old friend, William Strahan. He discussed lead poisoning with Vaughan, the completion of his Memoirs with Bishop Shipley, and personal affairs relating to property in America with his son. David Hartley got within a mile of Cowes, and met the Bishop returning after the ship had sailed. Eagerly and anxiously his friends in Europe waited for news of his safe arrival. Le Veillard wrote to him that every wind blowing too violently from the west filled the household at Passy with alarm. "We never walk in the garden," Catharine Shipley wrote from Twyford, "without seeing Dr. Franklin's room, and thinking of the work that was begun in it." Souvenirs of him were prized as sacred relics. Madame le Veillard had his tea-table, M. de Chaumont his table of Mangoni wood

[1] From the original letter in U. of P.

with a mechanical bar by which it might be raised and lowered. Abbé Morellet counted as the chiefest of his possessions Franklin's *fauteuil doctoral.*

Soon distressing rumours were in circulation. The newspapers reported that his ship was captured by the Algerines, and he taken prisoner to Algiers. Others said that he had been taken to Morocco and to Fez and sold to slavery, which he was suffering with all the fortitude of a philosopher.

Then came fresh alarms, that he was ill of a fever at Madeira, that his ship was wrecked at Henlopen, and finally that he had landed at New York "shaked with a burning quotidian tertian."

When, at last, the authentic news came of his safe arrival after a pleasant and not long voyage marked by nothing more extraordinary than the writing of a treatise upon the cause and cure of smoky chimneys, and a dissertation upon divers maritime observations, Le Veillard's relief and gratitude found expression in the following letter:—

Passy, 30 Octobre 1785.

Je vous remercie, mon cher amy, d'avoir pris la peine de m'écrire au moment ou vous estiez environné de tant d'objets interessants; ce que votre petit fils m'écrit sur votre réception à Philadelphie cause à tous nos amis et surtout à moy la joie la plus vive; je me suis figuré le Père éternel ayant tenu ses assises au purgatoire et reçu à son retour dans le paradis par les âmes qu'il y avoit envoyées d'avance; quel glorieux moment pour vous que celu you vous estes, après neuf ans d'absence, rentré dans votre patrie devenue libre par votre intelligence et vos soins, d'y recevoir de l'universalité de vos concitoyens les temoignages les plus purs de tous les senti-

ments qui peuvent flatter une grande âme! et qu'il s'en faut que les prétendus triomphes de ces anciens brigands de Rome fussent aussi complets que le votre! O mon amy! la belle vie que la Providence vous a donnée!

Mais avez-vous rempli vos promesses? vous estes-vous occupé en route à la rediger? la recevrai-je bientôt? Songez que c'est un des plus grands moyens d'adoucir la peine que notre séparation me causera toute la vie, et que si vous ne vous acquittez pas 20 originaux écriront des volumes sans nombre de contes absurdes intitulés "Vie du Dr Franklin"; le "Mercure de France" depuis votre départ a déjà donné un avis pour detromper ceux qui croyent votre famille originaire de Pontoise à 7 lieues de Paris, il prétend que votre père étoit né à Boston, qu'il était imprimeur etc. etc.

Si vous avez été faché tous les jours que je ne vous aye pas accompagné, croyez que j'ai eu les mêmes regrets et si j'avois pu penser deux mois plutot que je ne vous serois pas à charge j'aurois fait en sorte de ne vous pas quitter même quand Dieu m'aurait confié sa gayeté du 23 Aout.

Mais vous avez de grand reproches à vous faire, vous aviez ici deux bonnes amies qui vivoient assez d'accord parce qu'elles ne voyaient presque jamais et que vous assuriez chacune en particulier que c'étoit elle que vous aimiez le mieux; mais vous écrivez à l'une et vous gardez le silence avec l'autre? La première ne manque pas de se vanter et de montrer sa lettre partout; que voulez-vous que devienne l'autre? Voilà deux femmes à couteaux tirés, leurs amis prennent parti, la guerre devient générale, voilà pourtant ce que vous avez fait! Vous mettez avec un simple papier le feu à la moitié du monde qui vous a si bien aidé à pacifier l'autre! Et quel embarras vous nous donnez à nous autres pour arrêter les

suites d'une pareille animosité! Ah si vous reveniez vous ne seriez pas reçu ici comme chez vous. Heureusement cependant que Mme Brillon au moment où vos lettres sont arrivées s'occupait à marier sa fille, elle a épousé le 20 de ce mois Mr Vialal de Malachelle, conseiller de la Cour des aides, il doit quitter cette charge pour remplir celle de Mr Brillon, il est riche, fils unique et nous espérons qu'il rendra sa femme heureuse; cette affaire a rendu moins sensible a Mme Brillon votre ingratitude, mais ensuite gare à sa colère, ses nerfs et sa vengeance!

Point de nouvelles ici, la Cour chasse et voit des comédies à Fontainebleau. Le procès du Cardinal de Rohan dont je vous ai mandé le sujet ne finira qu'à la rentrée du Parlement.

Tous les miens vous aiment et vous aimeront toujours, ils pleurent et sourient quand on parle de vous, ils vous embrassent de tous leurs bras. Madame de Chaumont va revenir ici, tous mes voisins, nos amis communs surtout la famille du Duc de la Rochefoucault me chargent d'amitiés, de respects et de félicitations pour vous. Adieu, mon cher amy, je suis à vous pour ma vie.

LE VEILLARD.

The fragmentary journal, preserved in the Library of Congress, supplies the daily record of his journey from Paris to Philadelphia: —

Having stayed in France about eight years and a half, I took leave of the court and my friends, and set out on my return home, July 12th, 1785, leaving Passy with my two grandsons, at four P. M.; arrived about eight o'clock at St. Germain. M. de Chaumont, with his daughter Sophia, accompanied us to Nanterre. M. Le Veillard will continue with us to Havre.

We met at St. Germain the Miss Alexanders, with Mrs. Williams our cousin, who had provided a lodging for me at M. Benoît's. I found that the motion of the litter, lent me by the Duke de Coigny, did not much incommode me. It was one of the Queen's, carried by two very large mules, the muleteer riding another; M. Le Veillard and my children in a carriage. We drank tea at M. Benoît's, and went early to bed.

Wednesday, July 13th. — Breakfast with our friends, take leave and continue our journey, dine at a good inn at Meulan, and get to Mantes in the evening. A messenger from the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld meets us there, with an invitation to us to stop at his house at Gaillon the next day, acquainting us at the same time, that he would take no excuse; for, being all-powerful in his archbishopric, he would stop us *nolens volens* at his habitation, and not permit us to lodge anywhere else. We consented. Lodged at Mantes. Found myself very little fatigued with the day's journey, the mules going only foot pace.

July 14th. — Proceed early, and breakfast at Vernon. Received a visit there from Vicomte de Tilly and his Comtesse. Arrive at the Cardinal's without dining, about six in the afternoon. It is a superb ancient château, built about three hundred and fifty years since, but in fine preservation, on an elevated situation, with an extensive and beautiful view over a well-cultivated country. The Cardinal is archbishop of Rouen. A long gallery contains the pictures of all his predecessors. The chapel is elegant in the old style, with well-painted glass windows. The terrace magnificent. We supped early. The entertainment was kind and cheerful. We were allowed to go early to bed, on account of our inten-

tion to depart early in the morning. The Cardinal pressed us to pass another day with him, offering to amuse us with hunting in his park; but the necessity we are under of being in time at Havre, would not permit. So we took leave and retired to rest. The Cardinal is much respected and beloved by the people of this country, bearing in all respects an excellent character.

July 15th. — Set out about five in the morning, travelled till ten, then stopped to breakfast, and remained in the inn during the heat of the day. We had heard at the Cardinal's, that our friend Mr. Holker, of Rouen, had been out that day as far as Port St. Antoine to meet us; expecting us there from a letter of M. de Chaumont's. Here came to us one of his servants, who was sent to inquire if any accident had happened to us on the road, and was ordered to proceed till he got intelligence. He went directly back, and we proceeded. We passed a chain of chalk mountains very high, with strata of flints. The quantity that appears to have been washed away on one side of these mountains, leaving precipices of three hundred feet high, gives an idea of extreme antiquity. It seems as if done by the beating of the sea. We got to Rouen about five; were most affectionately received by Mr. and Mrs. Holker. A great company of genteel people at supper, which was our dinner. The chief President of the Parliament and his lady invite us to dine the next day; but, being preëngaged with Mr. Holker, we compounded for drinking tea. We lodge all at Mr. Holker's.

July 16th. — A deputation from the Academy of Rouen came with their compliments, which were delivered in form, and a present for me by one of the directors, being a magical square, which I think he said expressed my name. I have

perused it since, but do not comprehend it. The Duke de Chabot's son, lately married to a Montmorency, and colonel of a regiment now at Rouen, was present at the ceremony, being just come in to visit me. I forgot to mention that I saw with pleasure, in the Cardinal's cabinet, a portrait of this young man's grandmother, Madame la Duchesse d'Enville, who had always been our friend, and treated us with great civilities at Paris; a lady of uncommon intelligence and merit.

I received here also a present of books, 3 vols. 4to., from Dr. ——, with a very polite letter, which I answered.

We had a great company at dinner; and at six went in a chair to the President's, where were assembled some gentlemen of the robe. We drank tea there, awkwardly made, for want of practice, very little being drunk in France. I went to bed early; but my company supped with a large invited party, and were entertained with excellent singing.

July 17th. — Set out early. Mr. Holker accompanied us some miles, when we took an affectionate leave of each other. Dine at Yvetot a large town, and arrive at Bolbec, being the longest day's journey we have yet made. It is a market-town of considerable bigness, and seems thriving; the people well clad, and appear better fed than those of the wine countries. A linen-printer here offered to remove to America, but I did not encourage him.

July 18th. — Left Bolbec about ten o'clock, and arrive at Havre at five P.M., having stopped on the road at a miserable inn to bait. We were very kindly received by M. and Mde. Ruellan. The governor makes us a visit, and some other gentlemen.

July 19th. — We receive visits in form from the intendant,

the governor or commandant, the officers of the regiment of Poitou and Picardy, the corps of engineers, and M. Limosin.

M. Limosin proposes several vessels; all very dear. We wait for the packet from Southampton. Dine at M. Ruellan's, where we lodge. Receive the affiliation of the lodge at Rouen.

July 20th. — Return the visits. Receive one from the *corps de marine;* and one from the *corps d'artillerie.* M. Houdon arrives and brings me letters. Dine at M. Limosin's. Present M. and Mde. Le Mesurier and their sister, agreeable people of Alderney (Aurigny). Kindly entertained by M. Limosin and his daughter. Return the last visits.

The packet-boat arrives, and, the captain (Jennings) calling at our lodging, we agree with him to carry us and the baggage we have here for ten guineas, to land us at Cowes. We are to depart to-morrow evening.

July 21st. — We had another visit from M. de Villeneuve, the commandant, inviting us to dine with him to-morrow; but, intending to go off this evening, we could not accept that honour.

Dine with our friendly host and hostess. Mde. Feinés, Mde. de Clerval, and two other ladies, visit M. Le Veillard, with several gentlemen.

In the evening, when we thought we were on the point of departing, the captain of the packet comes and acquaints us that the wind is right against us, and blows so hard, that it is impossible to get out, and we give up the project till to-morrow.

July 22d. — Breakfast, and take leave of some friends, and go on board the packet at half after ten. Wind not very fair.

July 23d. — Buffet all night against the northwest wind,

which was full in our teeth. This continued till two o'clock to-day, then came fair, and we stand our course. At seven P.M. we discover land, the Isle of Wight.

July 24th. — We had a fair wind all night, and this morning at seven o'clock, being off Cowes, the captain represented to me the difficulty of getting in there against the flood; and proposed that we should rather run up to Southampton, which we did, and landed there between eight and nine. Met my son, who had arrived from London the evening before, with Mr. Williams and Mr. J. Alexander. Wrote a letter to the Bishop of St. Asaph, acquainting him with my arrival, and he came with his lady and daughter, Miss Kitty, after dinner, to see us; they talk of staying here as long as we do. Our meeting was very affectionate. I write letters to London, viz. to Messrs. W. J. M. and Co., to acquaint them with our arrival, and desire to know when the ship will sail, and to Mr. Williams. These letters went by post, before we knew of his being here. Wrote also to Mr. B. Vaughan.

July 25th. — The Bishop and family lodging in the same inn, the Star, we all breakfast and dine together. I went at noon to bathe in Martin's salt-water hot-bath, and, floating on my back, fell asleep, and slept near an hour by my watch without sinking or turning! a thing I never did before, and should hardly have thought possible. Water is the easiest bed that can be. Read over the writings of conveyance, &c., of my son's lands in New Jersey and New York to my grandson. Write to M. Ruellan, M. Limosin, M. Holker, and M. Grand. Southampton a very neat, pretty place. The two French gentlemen, our friends, much pleased with it. The Bishop gives me a book in 4to, written by Dean Paley, and the family dine with us. Sundry friends came to see me from London;

by one I receive a present of my friend Dr. Fothergill's works, from Dr. Lettsom, and a book on finance, from Mr. Gale. Mr. Williams tells me the ship had fallen down to Gravesend the 22d, so that she might be in the Downs the 24th, and possibly here to-morrow, that is on the Mother Bank, which we can see hence. Mr. Williams brought a letter from Mr. Nepean, secretary to Lord Townshend, addressed to Mr. Vaughan, expressing that orders would be sent to the custom-house at Cowes not to trouble our baggage, &c. It is still here on board the packet that brought it over. Mr. Alexander takes leave for London; write by him to Mr. Jackson, Dr. Jeffries, Dr. Lettsom, and my son-in-law Bache, the latter to be sent by the packet.

July 26th. — Deeds signed between W. Franklin and W. T. Franklin.

Mr. Williams, having brought sundry necessaries for me, goes down with them to Cowes, to be ready for embarking. Captain Jennings carries down our baggage that he brought from Havre. My dear friend, M. Le Veillard, takes leave to go with him. Mr. Vaughan arrives from London, to see me.

July 27th. — Give a power to my son to recover what may be due to me from the British government. Hear from J. Williams that the ship is come.

We all dine once more with the Bishop and family, who kindly accept our invitation to go on board with us. We go down in a shallop to the ship. The captain entertains us at supper. The company stay all night.

July 28th. — When I waked in the morning found the company gone, and the ship under sail.

Tuesday, September 13th. — The wind springing fair last

evening after a calm, we found ourselves this morning, at sunrising, abreast of the lighthouse, and between Capes May and Henlopen. We sail into the bay very pleasantly; water smooth, air cool, day fair and fine.

We passed Newcastle about sunset, and went on near to Red Bank before the tide and wind failed; then came to an anchor.

Wednesday, September 14th. — With the flood in the morning came a light breeze, which brought us above Gloucester Point, in full view of dear Philadelphia! when we again cast anchor to wait for the health officer, who, having made his visit, and finding no sickness, gave us leave to land. My son-in-law came with a boat for us; we landed at Market-Street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well.

God be praised and thanked for all his mercies!

Immediately upon his return he was chosen President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and elected a Counsellor for the city of Philadelphia. Various public bodies presented him with congratulatory addresses. Three of these with his answers are found among his papers in the Library of Congress.

ADDRESS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, in the most affectionate manner congratulate you on your safe arrival in your

native country after so long an absence on the most important business. We likewise congratulate you on the firm establishment of the Independence of America, and the settlement of a general peace, after the interesting struggle in which we were so long engaged.

We are confident, Sir, that we speak the sentiments of this whole country, when we say, that your services, in the public councils and negociations, have not only merited the thanks of the present generation, but will be recorded in the pages of History, to your immortal honour. And it is particularly pleasing to us, that, while we are sitting as Members of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, we have the happiness of welcoming into the State a person, who was so greatly instrumental in forming its free and excellent Constitution.

May it please God to give you a serene and peaceful enjoyment of the evening of life, and a participation of that happiness you have been so instrumental in securing to others!

Signed by order of the House,

JOHN BAYARD, *Speaker.*

Assembly Chamber, September 15th, 1785.

DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWER

MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN,

I am extreamly happy to find by your friendly and affectionate Address, that my Endeavours to serve our Country in the late important struggle have met with the Approbation of so respectable a Body as the Representatives of the Freemen of Pennsylvania. I esteem that Approbation as one of the greatest Honours of my Life. I hope the Peace with which God has been graciously pleased to bless us may be

lasting, and that the free Constitution we now enjoy may long contribute to promote our common Felicity. The kind Wishes of the General Assembly for my particular Happiness affect me very sensibly, and I beg they would accept my thankful acknowledgments.

ADDRESS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

SIR,

It is with peculiar pleasure that The American Philosophical Society address you on this occasion.

The high consideration and esteem, in which we hold your Character, so intimately combine with our Regard for the Public Welfare, that we participate eminently in the general satisfaction which your Return to America produces.

We bid you Welcome to your native Country, for which you have done the most essential Services; and we welcome you to this Chair, your occupying of which, as President, adds to our Institution much Lustre in the Eyes of all the World.

Sir, it reflects Honour on Philosophy, when one, distinguished by his deep Investigations, and many valuable Improvements in it, is known to be equally distinguished for his Philanthropy, Patriotism, and liberal Attachment to the Rights of human nature.

We know the favourable Influence, that Freedom has upon the Growth of useful Sciences and Arts. We derive Encouragement and extraordinary Felicity from an assemblage of recent memorable Events.

And, while we boast in a most pleasing Equality permanently ascertained, and that Independence which you had so great a share in establishing, we have reason to expect, that

this Society will proceed, with an increasing Success, to manage the important Business for which they originally associated.

DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWER

GENTLEMEN,

The great Honour done me by this Society, in choosing me so many Years successively as their President, notwithstanding my Absence in Europe, and the very kind Welcome they are pleas'd to give me on my return, demand my most grateful Acknowledgments; which I beg they would be pleased to accept, with my warmest Wishes of Success to their laudable Endeavours for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge among us, to which I shall be happy if I can in any degree contribute.

ADDRESS OF THE PROVOST, VICE-PROVOST, AND PROFESSORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

HONOURED SIR,

The Provost, Vice-Provost, and Professors of the University of Pennsylvania beg Leave to congratulate you on your safe Arrival in your native Country, after having accomplished the Duties of your exalted Character with Dignity and Success.

While we participate in the general Happiness of America, to the Establishment of which your political Abilities and patriotic Exertions have so signally contributed, we feel a particular Pleasure in paying our Acknowledgments to the gentleman, who first projected the liberal Plan of the Institution over which we have the Honour to preside.

Not contented with enriching the World with the most important Discoveries in natural Philosophy, your Benevolence and Liberality of sentiment early engaged you to make Provision for exciting a Spirit of Enquiry into the secret Operations of Nature; for exalting and refining the genius of America, by the Propagation of useful Learning; and for qualifying many of her Sons to make that illustrious Figure, which has commanded the Esteem and Admiration of the most polished Nations of Europe.

Among the many benevolent Projections, which have laid so ample a Foundation for the Esteem and Gratitude of your native Country, permit this Seminary to reckon her first Establishment, upon the solid Principles of equal Liberty, as one of the most considerable and important. And now, when restored, thro' the Influence of our happy Constitution, to her original broad and catholic bottom; when enriched by the Protection and generous Donations of a public-spirited and patriotic Assembly; and when flourishing under the Countenance of the best Friends of Religion, Learning, and Liberty in the State; she cannot but promise herself the continued Patronage of the Evening of that life, which divine Providence has so eminently distinguished.

May the same indulgent Providence yet continue your protracted Life, enriched and crowned with the best of Blessings, to nurse and cherish this favorite Child of your Youth; that the future sons of Science in this western World may have additional Reason to remember the Name of FRANKLIN with Gratitude and Pleasure.

Signed, in the name and by order of the Faculty, by

JOHN EWING, *Provost.*

Philadelphia, Sept. 16, 1785.

DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWER

I am greatly obliged, Gentlemen, by your kind Congratulations on my safe arrival.

It gives me extreme Pleasure to find, that Seminaries of Learning are increasing in America, and particularly that the University over which you preside, continues to flourish. My best Wishes will always attend it.

The Instruction of Youth is one of those Employments, which to the Public are most useful; it ought, therefore, to be esteem'd among the most honourable. Its successful Exercise does not, however, always meet with the Reward it merits, except in the satisfaction of having contributed to the forming of virtuous and able Men for the Service of their Country.

Repose and a private life had been Franklin's hope and ambition when he left Europe. By an almost unanimous vote[1] he was immediately chosen Governor of Pennsylvania by the Assembly and Council of the State. At the age of eighty he had now, in his own words, "public business enough to preserve me from *ennui*, and private amusement besides in conversation, books, my garden, and *cribbage*." He wrote cheerfully, and his letters rarely revealed that the multiplicity of private affairs requiring his attention after many years' absence from home, and the public business put upon him by the government were accomplished under the "teasing of a painful disease."

In November, 1786, he was reëlected President of Council

[1] "Of between seventy and eighty votes, there were only my own and one other in the negative." — Franklin to Bishop Shipley, February 24, 1786.

without a single dissenting vote but his own. A convention of delegates from the various states was called for the second Monday of May, 1787, to make a new Constitution. It continued in session until the seventeenth of September. Franklin attended the business of it five hours in every day from the beginning, something more than four months.[1] He was usually carried between his residence and the state-house in a sedan chair, though at times he attempted to walk, and he fancied that the daily exercise of going and returning improved his health.

We have a glimpse of his condition in a letter from Samuel Vaughan to Richard Price (November 4, 1786): "I spend many agreeable evenings with our good friend Dr. Franklin, who, except for the stone, which prevents his using exercise except in walking in the house, up and down stairs, and sometimes to the State House (which is one eighth of a mile distant),

[1] For his speeches in the Convention see Vol. IX, pp. 590–602, and p. 607. "It is a curious coincidence that the policy of committing the legislative power of the country to two separate houses, which Dr. Franklin always opposed, should, through his rare political genius, have become the one feature of the American Constitution which has more successfully than perhaps any other stood the test of nearly a century's experience.

"Franklin also supported an article fixing the term of the Presidency at seven years but making the incumbent ineligible for a second term. He opposed vigorously a proposal to limit the suffrage to freeholders, as tending to lower the tone, spirit, and courage of the poorer classes. He favoured the clause giving to Congress the power of impeaching the President, without which he contended that the people would have no resource against a faithless executive but revolution or assassination, remedies in most cases worse than the disease, and he advocated four years' residence of a foreigner as sufficient preparation for citizenship. It is not too much to say that to Franklin perhaps more than to any other one man, the present Constitution of the United States owes most of those features which have given it durability and have made it the ideal by which all other systems of government are tested by Americans." Bigelow, "The Life of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 383.

still retains his health, spirits and memory beyond all conception insomuch that there are few transactions, subjects or publications, ancient or modern, that are of any note but what he retains and when necessary in conversation will repeat and retain with wonderful facility. He bathes twice a week statedly (for hours) in a hot bath and, instead of relaxation, he enjoys and finds benefit from it." [1]

Yet another reference to him at this time occurs in a letter to Dr. Price from Benjamin Rush (June 2, 1787). "Dr. Franklin exhibits daily a spectacle of transcendent benevolence by attending the Convention punctually and even taking part in its business and deliberations. He says it is the most august and respectable Assembly he ever was in in his life, and adds that he thinks they will soon finish their business as there are no prejudices to oppose, nor errors to refute in any of the body." [2]

An interesting account of Franklin as he appeared at this time is found in the Diary of Manasseh Cutler of Hamilton, Massachusetts, clergyman, scholar, and botanist. —

"*July 13th*, 1787. — Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street. His house stands up a court, at some distance from the street. We found him in his garden, sitting upon a grass-plot, under a very large mulberry-tree, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. When Mr. Gerry introduced me, he rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy at seeing me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance was open, frank, and pleasing. I delivered to him my letters. After he had read them, he took me again by the hand, and,

[1] In Price Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., May, 1903. [2] *Ibid.*

with the usual compliments, introduced me to the other gentlemen, who are most of them members of the Convention.

"Here we entered into a free conversation, and spent our time most agreeably, until it was quite dark. The tea-table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, who is the only daughter of the Doctor, and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her. They seemed to be excessively fond of their grandpapa. The Doctor showed me a curiosity he had just received, and with which he was much pleased. It was a snake with two heads, preserved in a large phial. It was taken from the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware, about four miles from this city. It was about ten inches long, well-proportioned, the heads perfect, and united to the body about one-fourth of an inch below the extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a dark brown, approaching to black, and the back beautifully speckled with white. The belly was rather checkered with a reddish colour and white. The Doctor supposed it to be full grown, which I think is probable; and he thinks it must be a sui generis of that class of animals. He grounds his opinion of its not being an extraordinary production, but a distinct genus, on the perfect form of the snake, the probability of its being of some age and there having been found a snake entirely similar (of which the Doctor has a drawing, which he showed us) near Lake Champlain, in the time of the late war. He mentioned the situation of this snake, if it was travelling among bushes, and one head should choose to go on one side of the stem of a bush, and the other head should prefer the other side, and neither of the heads would consent to come back, or give way to the other. He was then going to mention a humorous matter, that had that day occurred in the Con-

vention, in consequence of his comparing the snake to America; for he seemed to forget that every thing in the Convention was to be kept a profound secret. But the secrecy of the Convention matters was suggested to him, which stopped him, and deprived me of the story he was going to tell.

"After it was dark we went into the house, and he invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high-studded. The walls are covered with book-shelves, filled with books; besides these there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds the length of the chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest and by far the best private library in America. He showed us a glass machine for exhibiting the circulation of the blood in the arteries and veins of the human body. The circulation is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid from a reservoir into numerous capillary tubes of glass, ramified in every direction, and then returning in similar tubes to the reservoir, which was done with great velocity, without any power to act visibly upon the fluid, and had the appearance of perpetual motion. Another great curiosity was a rolling-press, for taking the copies of letters or any other writing. A sheet of paper is completely copied in less than two minutes; the copy as fair as the original, and without defacing it in the smallest degree. It is an invention of his own, extremely useful in many situations of life. He also showed us his long, artificial arm and hand, for taking down and putting up books on high shelves, which are out of reach; and his great arm-chair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself, keeps off the flies, &c., while he sits reading, with only a small motion of the foot; and many other curiosities and inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over his mantel he

has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax, or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe.

"But what the Doctor wished principally to show me was a huge volume on botany, which indeed afforded me the greatest pleasure of any one thing in his library. It was a single volume, but so large, that it was with great difficulty that he was able to raise it from a low shelf, and lift it on the table. But, with that senile ambition, which is common to old people, he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining. It contained the whole of Linnæus's Systema Vegetabilium, with large cuts of every plant, coloured from nature. It was a feast to me, and the Doctor seemed to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a couple of hours in examining this volume, while other gentlemen amused themselves with other matters. The Doctor is not a botanist, but lamented he did not in early life attend to this science. He delights in Natural History, and expressed an earnest wish, that I should pursue the plan that I had begun, and hoped this science, so much neglected in America, would be pursued with as much ardour here as it is now in every part of Europe. I wanted, for three months at least, to have devoted myself entirely to this one volume; but, fearing lest I should be tedious to him, I shut up the volume, though he urged me to examine it longer.

"He seemed extremely fond, through the course of the visit, of dwelling on philosophical subjects, and particularly that of Natural History; while the other gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. This was a favourable circumstance for me; for almost the whole of his conversation was addressed to me,

and I was highly delighted with the extensive knowledge he appeared to have of every subject, the brightness of his memory, and clearness and vivacity of all his mental faculties, notwithstanding his age. His manners are perfectly easy, and everything about him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom and happiness. He has an incessant vein of humour, accompanied with an uncommon vivacity, which seemed as natural and involuntary as his breathing. He urged me to call on him again, but my short stay would not permit. We took our leave at ten, and I retired to my lodgings."

The town of Franklin, Massachusetts, was set off from Wrentham in 1778 by a legislative act, and was the first of the thirty or more towns to take Franklin's name. To the town Franklin presented a library selected by Dr. Price. Rev. Nathaniel Emmons celebrated the event by preaching a sermon from the text, "Show thyself a man." The sermon was dedicated "To his excellency Benjamin Franklin, President of the State of Pennsylvania; the Ornament of Genius, the Patron of Science and the Boast of Man; this discourse is inscribed with the greatest Deference, Humility and Gratitude, by his obliged and most humble Servant, the Author." [1]

[1] The following, in A. P. S., is the letter of acceptance from the Town Committee: —

Franklin June 22d 1786.

Sir,

We beg leave to present to your Excellency, our most grateful Acknowledgments, for the very handsome Parish Library, which you have been pleased to bestow upon the Minister and the Parishioners of this Town, as a particular mark of your approbation and regard. This choice and valuable Collection of Books, your Excellency will permit us to say, not only flatters our Understanding and Taste, but displays the brightest feature in your great and amiable Character. We only regret, that modesty should deny us the celebrated Productions of the greatest Philosopher and Politician in America.

According to James Parton there was no state in the Union in 1864 which had not at least one town named Franklin. Ohio had nineteen. Twenty states had a Franklin County, and the name occurred then one hundred and thirty-six times upon the map. For a short time we had a state of Franklin. The history of that state afterward called Tennessee is given in a letter to Franklin from William Cocke.

State of Franklin 15th June 1786.

SIR.

I make no doubt but You have heard that the good People of this Country have declared themselves a Separate State from North Carolina, and as a Testimony of the High Esteem they have for the many Important and Faithfull Services You have Rendered Your Country, to Commemorate You, they have Call'd the Name of their State after You. I presume You have also heard the reasons on which our Separation is founded. Some of which are as follows that North Carolina had Granted us a Separation on Certain well known Conditions, Express'd in an Act, of the General Assembly of that State, which Conditions we think She Had no right to break through without our Consent as well as

Since Providence hitherto hath delighted to smile on all your great and noble Efforts, we cannot but hope, your generous exertion to diffuse useful and divine Knowledge among us, will be productive of the] happiest effects, and completely answer your warmest wishes. May all the seeds of Science, which you have sown in this, and various other parts of the world, grow up into a living Laurel, to adorn your illustrious Head in the Temple of Fame. And, in the meantime, may the sincere and affectionate Esteem of this Town, as well as the accumulated Honours, which You have merited and received from the united Republics of Liberty and of Letters, serve to smooth the last Passages of your eminently useful and important Life.

We have the honour to be, etc

NATHANIEL EMMONS
HEZEKIAH FISHER

the Consent of Congress. We therefore determine Strictly to adhear to the Conditions, and Every of them Express'd in Said Act and Doubt not but Congress will be uniform in her Just Demands, as well as Honorable In Complying with her resolve to Confirm all the Just Claims of such Persons who have purchased Land under the Laws of North Carolina, for which they have paid that State. The Confidence we have in the wisdom and Justice of the United States Incline us to wish Every Matter of dispute to their Decision, and I am Expressly Impowered and commanded to give the United States Full Assurance that we Shall Act in Obedience to her Determination provided North Carolina will Consent, that they shall become the Arbiters. I had set out with the Intention to weiht on Congress to discharge the Duties of the Trust reposed in me But am Inform'd that Congress will adjourn about the last of this Month, & shall thank You to be so kind as to favour me, with a few Lines by the Bearer M Rogers to inform me, when Congress will meet again, and shall Be happy to have Your Political Sentiments & advice on so Important a Subject should it be Consistant with Y^r^ Pleasure. I have the Honour to be with Great Esteem.

Your most obeid^t^ Hble Servt.

Wm Cocke

The further history of the state was told to Franklin by John Sevier.

State of Franklin, Mount Pleasant,
9 April, 1787.

Sir,

Permit me to introduce to your Excellency the subject of our new disputed government. In the year 1784, in the

month of June, the legislature of North Carolina ceded to Congress all their claim to the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains, on conditions I make no doubt you are acquainted with, as the act was shortly after laid before Congress. The inhabitants of this country, well knowing that the Congress of the United States would accept the cession, and having no idea that North Carolina would attempt repealing the act, formed themselves into a separate and independent State by the name of *Franklin*.

In November following, North Carolina repealed this act of cession. In May, 1785, Congress took the several acts under their consideration, and entered into resolves respecting the same, the purport of which, I presume, you are acquainted with. The government of Franklin was carried on unmolested by North Carolina, until November, 1785, when that legislature passed an act, allowing the people in some of our counties to hold elections under certain regulations unknown to any former law; whereby a few, from disaffection and disappointment, might have it in their power to elect persons, who were to be considered the legal delegation of the people. This was done and countenanced; and at their last session, in November, 1786, they have undertaken to reassume their jurisdiction and sovereignty over the State of Franklin, notwithstanding the whole of their adherents do not exceed two or three hundred against a majority of at least seven thousand effective militia. They have, contrary to the interest of the people in two of the counties, to wit, Washington and Sullivan, by their acts removed the former places of holding courts to certain places convenient to the disaffected, as we conceive, in order that they might have a pretext to prevaricate upon.

I have thus given your Excellency the outlines of our past and present situation, and beg leave to inform you, that, from your known patriotic and benevolent disposition, as also your great experience and wisdom, I am, by and with the advice of our Council of State, induced to make this application, that, should you, from this simple statement of the several occurrences, think our cause so laudable, as to give us your approbation, you would be pleased to condescend to write on the subject. And any advice, instruction, or encouragement, you may think we shall deserve, will be acknowledged in the most grateful manner.

We have been informed, that your Excellency some time since did us the honour to write to us on the subject of our State; if so, unfortunately for us, the letters have miscarried, and are not come to hand. Many safe conveyances might be had. A letter may be sent by the bearer, Captain John Woods, if he should return by the way of Franklin; or, if it were directed to the care of the Governor of Georgia, it would come safe; and perhaps by a number of people who travel to this country. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

JOHN SEVIER.

After serving three years as president, Franklin renounced all public business. The Philosophical Society and the Society for Political Inquiries met at his house. He set up his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, in the printing business, and built and furnished a printing-house for him which was managed under his direct supervision. Although afflicted with almost constant and grievous pain, he declared that if he were allowed to live his life over again, he should make no objection, only wishing for leave to do what

authors do in a second edition of their works, correct some of his *errata*. "For my own personal ease," he told Washington (September 21, 1789), "I should have died two years ago." To relieve his suffering he had recourse to opium, which so impeded his appetite and digestion that he became totally emaciated; "little remains of me," he wrote to Le Veillard, "but a skeleton covered with a skin." Nevertheless he is known to have said that he looked upon all the griefs and sufferings of the world but as the momentary pricking of a pin in comparison with the total happiness of our existence.

Reports of his death were frequently circulated, and Europe was led prematurely to believe that he had gone "Where Lycurgus, Solon, Numa and the elder Brutus had been long gone before him" (Pownall). In contradiction of these rumours, some who were with him in the Convention told John Jay that the steel was not worn off yet and that Franklin had as good an edge as ever.

Sir Edward Newenham wrote to Lord Charlemont, December 31, 1789: "Knowing your Esteem for real patriots, I would not omit this opportunity of acquainting your lordship that I had a letter this day, dated the fifth of November from the venerable Franklin, at Philadelphia — perhaps the last he will write to Europe. He says his malady, the stone and gravel, is heavy on him; that dissolution would be ease to him. He very pathetically inquires how 'Charlemont, the general of the Irish Volunteers does,' and desires me to tell Mr. Deane (the Six Clerk) that he has broken his repeated promise to him, of sending him the model of a common country fish case. He says all is going on with proper caution for fixing an union between eleven of the States,

that Carolina and Rhode Island must accede to the general union; that Washington appears greater in the cabinet than (if possible) he did in the field. He says 'Your friend Washington sigheth for a retreat to his farm, and more particularly so, as the main points of a general union are fixed; that Irish traders are preferred to any nation.' And now, my dear Lord, observe his, perhaps, last words: 'Let your nation sign a speedy commercial treaty with the States and you may in future monopolize some branches of trade, but nothing can be done without a treaty and appointing a consul.'" [1]

The last account of him is contained in a letter from Jefferson to M. le Veillard, New York, April 5, 1790. — "I wish I could add to your happiness by giving you a favourable account of the good old Doctor. I found him in bed where he remains almost constantly. He had been clear of pain for some days and was chearful and in good spirits. He listened with a glow of interest to the details of your revolution and of his friends which I gave him. He is much emaciated. I pressed him to continue the narration of his life and perhaps he will. Present me respectfully to Madame le Veillard, and be assured yourself of the sentiments of sincere esteem and affection with which I have the honour to be, dear Sir, etc. Th. Jefferson."

The last news that came to Franklin from the Old World related to the assembling of the States General, the theft of the diamond necklace, and the ominous gloom of the coming

[1] Hist. Mss. Comm.; 13th Rep. App. Pt. VIII; The Mss. and Correspondence of James, First Earl of Charlemont, 1894. The tantalizing fragments of quotations from Franklin's letter deepen our regret at the loss or destruction of his voluminous and confidential correspondence with Newenham.

Revolution. He was made aware of the disruption of ancient amities among those who had been his beloved associates in politics and society, but happily he died too soon to witness the awful havoc wrought in the wild tumult of the Revolution when Le Veillard perished upon the Revolutionary scaffold, Lavoisier by the axe of the guillotine, and Condorcet died of poison upon a prison floor.

Sixteen days before his death he was seized with a feverish indisposition. After ten days all pain left him, when an aposthume in his lungs suddenly burst and discharged a great quantity of matter;[1] lethargy succeeded and on the 17th of April, 1790, about eleven o'clock at night he died.

He was buried April 21 at four o'clock in Christ Church burial-ground. At the head of the funeral procession walked the clergy of Philadelphia. Next came the chief members of the state government and the members of the Legislature, the Judges of the courts, members of the bar, the Mayor and the Councils of the city, the printers and their apprentices, The American Philosophical Society, and the College of Physicians, and many trade and benevolent societies. The pall-bearers were Samuel Powell (Mayor), William Bingham, Thomas Willing, David Rittenhouse, Thomas McKean, (chief justice of Pennsylvania), and Thomas Mifflin governor of the state. Twenty thousand persons followed the body to its burial.

Dr. Rush wrote to Dr. Price: "The papers will inform you of the death of our late friend Dr. Franklin. The evening of his life was marked by the same activity of his

[1] In 1735 Franklin had pleurisy which terminated in an abscess of the left lobe of the lungs, and he was then almost suffocated with the quantity and suddenness of the discharge.

moral and intellectual powers which distinguished its meridian. His conversation with his family upon the subject of his dissolution was free and cheerful. A few days before he died, he rose from his bed and begged that it might be made up for him so *that he might die in a decent manner.* His daughter told him that she hoped he would recover and live many years longer. He calmly replied, '*I hope not.*' Upon being advised to change his position in bed, that he might breathe easy, he said, '*A dying man can do nothing easy.*' All orders and bodies of people have vied with each other in paying tributes of respect to his memory."

Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, was appointed by The American Philosophical Society to deliver a eulogy upon its founder. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, ordered a commemorative eulogy by one of the orators at the next Commencement, and himself delivered a Latin address.

On motion of James Madison, it was unanimously resolved by Congress, then in session at New York, "that the members wear the customary badge of mourning for one month." On the 11th of June, the morning after the news reached Paris, Mirabeau addressed the National Assembly in words which have become historic and immortal.

La Rochefoucauld and Lafayette rose to second the motion which was adopted by acclamation. It was decreed that Mirabeau's discourse should be printed, and that the President of the Assembly, Abbé Sieyes, should address a letter of condolence to the Congress. In accordance with his instructions Sieyes wrote: —

"The name of Benjamin Franklin will be immortal in the records of freedom and philosophy; but it is more particularly

dear to a country, where, conducted by the most sublime mission, this venerable man knew how very soon to acquire an infinite number of friends and admirers, as well by the simplicity and sweetness of his manners, as by the purity of his principles, the extent of his knowledge, and the charms of his mind.

"It will be remembered, that every success, which he obtained in his important negotiation, was applauded and celebrated (so to express it) all over France, as so many crowns conferred on genius and virtue.

"Even then the sentiment of our rights existed in the bottom of our souls. It was easily perceived, that it feelingly mingled in the interest which we took in behalf of America, and in the public vows which we preferred for your liberty.

"At last the hour of the French has arrived; we love to think, that the citizens of the United States have not regarded with indifference our steps towards liberty. Twenty-six millions of men breaking their chains, and seriously occupied in giving themselves a durable constitution, are not unworthy of the esteem of a generous people, who have preceded them in that noble career.

"We hope they will learn with interest the funeral homage, which we have rendered to the Nestor of America. May this solemn act of fraternal friendship serve more and more to bind the tie, which ought to unite two free nations! May the common enjoyment of liberty shed itself over the whole globe, and become an indissoluble chain of connexion among all the people of the earth! For ought they not to perceive, that they will march more steadfastly and more certainly to their true happiness, in understanding and loving each other, than in being jealous and fighting?

"May the Congress of the United States and the National Assembly of France be the first to furnish this fine spectacle to the world! And may the individuals of the two nations connect themselves by a mutual affection, worthy of the friendship which unites the two men, at this day most illustrious by their exertions for liberty, WASHINGTON and LAFAYETTE!"

The Congress of the United States at the third session begun and held at the city of Philadelphia on Monday the 6th of December, 1790, passed the following resolution: "That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be communicated to the National Assembly of France the peculiar sensibility of Congress to the tribute paid to the memory of Benjamin Franklin by the enlightened and free representatives of a great nation, in their decrees of the 11th of June, 1790."[1]

La Rochefoucauld read a paper on the life and character of Franklin before the "Society of 1789."[2] The Commune of Paris ordered a public celebration in honour of the memory of Franklin, and the Abbé Fauchet pronounced the eulogium in the presence of a great crowd in the rotunda of the Grain Market.

Condorcet delivered an "Eloge de Franklin," before the Academy of Sciences, November 13, 1790. Madame

[1] This resolution signed by F. A. Muhlenberg, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and by John Adams, Vice-President of the United States and president of the Senate, was approved by President Washington, March 2, 1791.

[2] After this address M. de Liancourt moved that the Society wear mourning, and that the bust of Franklin be placed in the hall of the Assembly with the inscription "Hommage rendu par le Vœu unanime de la Societé de 1789 à Benjamin Franklin, objet de l'admiration et des Regrets des Amis de la Liberté."

Campan, in her Mémoires (Tome I. p. 233), mentions a curious feature of these commemorative ceremonies participated in by the printers. They assembled in a large hall, in which there was a column surmounted by a bust of Franklin, with a civic crown. Below the bust were arrayed printers' cases and types, with a press, and all the apparatus of the art, which the philosopher had practised with such distinguished success. While one of the fraternity pronounced a eulogy on Franklin, several printers were employed in composing it at the cases; and, as soon as it was finished, impressions of it were taken, and distributed to the large concourse of people, who had been drawn together as spectators of the ceremony.

CHAPTER XIII

FRANKLIN'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

I, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, of Philadelphia, printer, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France, now President of the State of Pennsylvania, do make and declare my last will and testament as follows: —

To my son, *William Franklin*, late Governor of the Jerseys, I give and devise all the lands I hold or have a right to, in the province of Nova Scotia, to hold to him, his heirs, and assigns forever. I also give to him all my books and papers, which he has in his possession, and all debts standing against him on my account books, willing that no payment for, nor restitution of, the same be required of him, by my executors.

The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavoured to deprive me of.

Having since my return from France demolished the three houses in Market Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, fronting my dwelling-house, and erected two new and larger ones on the ground, and having also erected another house on the lot which formerly was the passage to my dwelling, and also a printing-office between my dwelling and the front houses; now I do give and devise my said dwelling-house, wherein I now live, my said three new houses, my printing-office and the lots of ground thereto belonging; also my small lot and house in Sixth Street, which I bought of the widow Henmarsh; also my pasture-ground which I have in Hickory Lane, with the buildings thereon; also my house and lot on the north side of Market Street, now occupied by Mary Jacobs, together with two houses and lots behind the same, and fronting on Pewter-Platter Alley; also my lot of ground in Arch Street, opposite the church burying-ground, with the buildings thereon erected; also all my silver plate, pictures, and household goods, of every kind, now in my said dwelling-house, to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, and to her husband, *Richard Bache*, to hold to them for and during their natural lives, and the life of the longest liver of them, and from and after the decease of the survivor of them, I do give, devise, and bequeath to all children already born, or to be born of my said daughter, and to their heirs and assigns forever, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants.

And, if any or either of them shall happen to die under age, and without issue, the part and share of him, her, or them, so dying, shall go to and be equally divided among

the survivors or survivor of them. But my intention is, that, if any or either of them should happen to die under age, leaving issue, such issue shall inherit the part and share that would have passed to his, her, or their parent, had he, she, or they been living.

And, as some of my said devisees may, at the death of the survivor of their father or mother, be of age, and others of them under age, so as that all of them may not be of capacity to make division, I in that case request and authorize the judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Pennsylvania for the time being, or any three of them, not personally interested, to appoint by writing, under their hands and seals, three honest, intelligent, impartial men to make the said division, and to assign and allot to each of my devisees their respective share, which division, so made and committed to writing under the hands and seals of the said three men, or of any two of them, and confirmed by the said judges, I do hereby declare shall be binding on, and conclusive between the said devisees.

All the lands near the Ohio, and the lots near the centre of Philadelphia, which I lately purchased of the State, I give to my son-in-law, Richard Bache, his heirs and assigns forever; I also give him the bond I have against him, of two thousand and one hundred and seventy-two pounds, five shillings, together with the interest that shall or may accrue thereon, and direct the same to be delivered up to him by my executors, cancelled, requesting that, in consideration thereof, he would immediately after my decease manumit and set free his negro man Bob. I leave to him, also, the money due to me from the State of Virginia for types. I also give to him the bond of William Goddard and his sister, and

the counter bond of the late Robert Grace, and the bond and judgement of Francis Childs, if not recovered before my decease, or any other bonds, except the bond due from —— Killan, of Delaware State, which I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache.* I also discharge him, my said son-in-law, from all claim and rent of moneys due to me, on book account or otherwise. I also give him all my musical instruments.

The king of France's picture, set with four hundred and eight diamonds, I give to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, requesting, however, that she would not form any of those diamonds into ornaments either for herself or daughters, and thereby introduce or countenance the expensive, vain, and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country; and those immediately connected with the picture may be preserved with the same.[1]

I give and devise to my dear sister, *Jane Mecom*, a house and lot I have in Unity Street, Boston, now or late under the care of Mr. Jonathan Williams, to her and to her heirs and assigns for ever. I also give her the yearly sum of fifty pounds sterling, during life, to commence at my death, and to be paid to her annually out of the interests or dividends arising on twelve shares which I have since my arrival at Philadelphia purchased in the Bank of North America, and, at her decease, I give the said twelve shares in the bank to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, and her husband, *Richard Bache.* But it is my express will and desire that, after the payment of the above fifty pounds sterling annually to my said sister, my said daughter be allowed to apply the residue of the interest or

[1] Mrs. Bache sold the outer circle of diamonds and upon the proceeds she and her husband made the tour of Europe.

dividends on those shares to her sole and separate use, during the life of my said sister, and afterwards the whole of the interest or dividends thereof as her private pocket money.

I give the right I have to take up three thousand acres of land in the State of Georgia, granted to me by the government of that State, to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*, the bond and judgement I have against him of four thousand pounds sterling, my right to the same to cease upon the day of his marriage; and if he dies unmarried, my will is, that the same be recovered and divided among my other grandchildren, the children of my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, in such manner and form as I have herein before given to them the other parts of my estate.

The philosophical instruments I have in Philadelphia I give to my ingenious friend, *Francis Hopkinson*.

To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my brother, *Samuel Franklin*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Anne Harris*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my brother, *James Franklin*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Sarah Davenport*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Lydia Scott*, that may be living at

the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Jane Mecom*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them.

I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, all the types and printing materials, which I now have in Philadelphia, with the complete letter foundery, which, in the whole, I suppose to be worth near one thousand pounds; but if he should die under age, then I do order the same to be sold by my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, and the moneys thence arising to be equally divided among all the rest of my said daughter's children, or their representatives, each one on coming of age to take his or her share, and the children of such of them as may die under age to represent, and to take the share and proportion of, the parent so dying, each one to receive his or her part of such share as they come of age.

With regard to my books, those I had in France and those I left in Philadelphia, being now assembled together here, and a catalogue made of them, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows: My "History of the Academy of Sciences," in sixty or seventy volumes quarto, I give to the *Philosophical Society of Philadelphia*, of which I have the honour to be President. My collection in folio of "Les Arts et les Métiers," I give to the *American Philosophical Society*, established in New England, of which I am a member. My quarto edition of the same, "Arts et Métiers," I give to the *Library Company of Philadelphia*. Such and so many of my books as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, I do hereby

give to him; and such and so many of my books as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, *William Bache*, I do hereby give to him; and such as shall be marked with the name of *Jonathan Williams*, I hereby give to my cousin of that name. The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*. My share in the Library Company of Philadelphia, I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, confiding that he will permit his brothers and sisters to share in the use of it.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or by those person or persons, who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honourary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet.

Out of the salary that may remain due to me as President of the State, I do give the sum of two thousand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to such person or persons as the legislature of this State by an act of Assembly shall appoint to receive the same in trust, to be employed for making the river Schuylkill navigable.

And what money of mine shall, at the time of my decease,

remain in the hands of my bankers, Messrs. Ferdinand Grand and Son, at Paris, or Messrs. Smith, Wright, and Gray, of London, I will that, after my debts are paid and deducted, with the money legacies of this my will, the same be divided into four equal parts, two of which I give to my dear daughter, *Sarah Bache*, one to her son *Benjamin*, and one to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*.

During the number of years I was in business as a stationer, printer, and postmaster, a great many small sums became due for books, advertisements, postage of letters, and other matters, which were not collected when, in 1757, I was sent by the Assembly to England as their agent, and by subsequent appointments continued there till 1775, when on my return, I was immediately engaged in the affairs of Congress, and sent to France in 1776, where I remained nine years, not returning till 1785: and the said debts, not being demanded in such a length of time, are become in a manner obsolete, yet are nevertheless justly due. These, as they are stated in my great folio ledger E, I bequeath to the *contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital*, hoping that those debtors, and the descendants of such as are deceased, who now, as I find, make some difficulty of satisfying such antiquated demands as just debts, may, however, be induced to pay or give them as charity to that excellent institution. I am sensible that much must inevitably be lost, but I hope something considerable may be recovered. It is possible, too, that some of the persons charged may have existing old unsettled accounts against me: in which case the managers of the said hospital will allow and deduct the amount, or pay the balance if they find it against me.

My debts and legacies being all satisfied and paid, the rest

and residue of all my estate, real and personal, not herein expressly disposed of, I do give and bequeath to my son and daughter, *Richard* and *Sarah Bache.*

I request my friends, Henry Hill, Esquire, John Jay, Esquire, Francis Hopkinson, Esquire, and Mr. Edward Duffield, of Benfield, in Philadelphia County, to be the executors of this my last will and testament; and I hereby nominate and appoint them for that purpose.

I would have my body buried with as little expense or ceremony as may be. I revoke all former wills by me made, declaring this only to be my last.

In witness thereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this seventeenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

[SEAL.]

B. FRANKLIN.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the above-named Benjamin Franklin, for and as his last will and testament, in the presence of us.

ABRAHAM SHOEMAKER,
JOHN JONES,
GEORGE MOORE.

CODICIL

I, Benjamin Franklin, in the foregoing or annexed last will and testament named, having further considered the same, do think proper to make and publish the following codicil or addition thereto.

It having long been a fixed political opinion of mine, that in a democratical state there ought to be no offices of profit, for

the reasons I had given in an article of my drawing in our constitution, it was my intention when I accepted the office of President, to devote the appointed salary to some public uses. Accordingly, I had already, before I made my will in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, etc.; and in that will I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the State for the purpose of making the Schuylkill navigable. But understanding since that such a sum will do but little towards accomplishing such a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come, and having entertained another idea, that I hope may be more extensively useful, I do hereby revoke and annul that bequest, and direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that salary be sold, towards raising the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, to be disposed of as I am now about to order.

It has been an opinion, that he who receives an estate from his ancestors is under some kind of obligation to transmit the same to their posterity. This obligation does not lie on me, who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or relation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable estate among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as some apology to my family for making bequests that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I have, therefore, already considered these schools in my will. But I am also under obligations to the State of Massachusetts for having, unasked, appointed me

formerly their agent in England, with a handsome salary, which continued some years; and although I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting Governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude.

I have considered that, among artisans, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens, and, having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both these towns. To this end, I devote two thousand pounds sterling, of which I give one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared.

The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the sum upon interest, at five per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are

willing to become their sureties, in a bond with the applicants, for the repayment of the moneys so lent, with interest, according to the terms hereinafter prescribed; all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin; and the managers shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefits of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records respecting the business and concerns of this institution. And as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds; and if the number of appliers so entitled should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each as much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished so as to afford to every one some assistance. These aids may, therefore, be small at first, but, as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each borrower shall be obliged to pay, with the yearly interest, one tenth part of the principal, which sums of principal and interest, so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers.

And, as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped that no part of the money will at any time be dead, or

be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest; in which case there may, in time, be more than the occasions in Boston shall require, and then some may be spared to the neighbouring or other towns in the said State of Massachusetts, who may desire to have it; such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest and the portions of the principal, annually, to the inhabitants of the town of Boston.

If this plan is executed, and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest, in the manner above directed, for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four millions and sixty one thousand pounds sterling, of which I leave one million sixty one thousand pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the state, not presuming to carry my views farther.

All the directions herein given, respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, only, as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management agreeably to the said directions; and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose. And, having considered that the covering a ground plot with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain and prevent its soaking into the Earth and renewing and purifying the Springs, whence the water of wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities, I recommend that at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city Employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds in bringing, by pipes, the water of Wissahickon Creek into the town, so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of the creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam. I also recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four million and sixty one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania, in the same manner as herein directed with respect to that of the inhabitants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts.

It is my desire that this institution should take place and begin to operate within one year after my decease, for which purpose due notice should be publickly given previous to the expiration of that year, that those for whose benefit this establishment is intended may make their respective applica-

tions. And I hereby direct my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be duly appointed by the Selectmen of Boston and the corporation of Philadelphia, to receive and take charge of their respective sums, of one thousand pounds each, for the purposes aforesaid.

Considering the accidents to which all human affairs and projects are subject in such a length of time, I have, perhaps, too much flattered myself with a vain fancy that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption and have the effects proposed. I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will, at least, accept the offer of these donations as a mark of my good will, a token of my gratitude, and a testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them after my departure.

I wish, indeed, that they may both undertake to endeavour the execution of the project, because I think that, though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money, with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is, that both Sums be given to the inhabitants of the city accepting the whole, to be applied to the same purposes, and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts; and, if both refuse, the money of course remains in the mass of my Estate, and is to be disposed of therewith according to my will made the Seventeenth day of July, 1788.

I wish to be buried by the side of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone, to be made by Chambers, six feet long,

four feet wide, plain, with only a small moulding round the upper edge, and this inscription:

Benjamin
And
Deborah
} Franklin

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to be placed over us both. My fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, *General Washington*. If it were a Sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it. It was a present to me from that excellent woman, Madame de Forbach, the dowager Duchess of Deux-Ponts, connected with some verses which should go with it. I give my gold watch to my son-in-law, *Richard Bache*, and also the gold watch chain of the Thirteen United States, which I have not yet worn. My timepiece, that stands in my library, I give to my grandson *William Temple Franklin*. I give him also my Chinese gong. To my dear old friend, *Mrs. Mary Hewson*, I give one of my silver tankards marked for her use during her life, and after her decease I give it to her daughter *Eliza*. I give to her son, *William Hewson*, who is my godson, my new quarto Bible, Oxford edition, to be for his family Bible, and also the botanic description of the plants in the Emperor's garden at Vienna, in folio, with coloured cuts.

And to her son, *Thomas Hewson*, I give a set of *Spectators*, *Tatlers*, and *Guardians* handsomely bound.

There is an error in my will, where the bond of William Temple Franklin is mentioned as being four thousand pounds sterling, whereas it is but for three thousand five hundred pounds.

I give to my *executors*, to be divided equally among those that act, the sum of sixty pounds sterling, as some compensation for their trouble in the execution of my will; and I request my friend, *Mr. Duffield*, to accept moreover my French wayweiser, a piece of clockwork in Brass, to be fixed to the wheel of any carriage; and that my friend, *Mr. Hill*, may also accept my silver cream pot, formerly given to me by the good Doctor Fothergill, with the motto, *Keep bright the Chain*. My reflecting telescope, made by Short, which was formerly Mr. Canton's, I give to my friend, *Mr. David Rittenhouse*, for the use of his observatory.

My picture, drawn by Martin, in 1767, I give to the *Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania*, if they shall be pleased to do me the honour of accepting it and placing it in their chamber. Since my will was made I have bought some more city lots, near the centre part of the estate of Joseph Dean. I would have them go with the other lots, disposed of in my will, and I do give the same to my Son-in-law, *Richard Bache*, to his heirs and assigns forever.

In addition to the annuity left to my sister in my will, of fifty pounds sterling during her life, I now add thereto ten pounds sterling more, in order to make the Sum sixty pounds. I give twenty guineas to my good friend and physician, *Dr. John Jones*.

With regard to the separate bequests made to my daughter *Sarah* in my will, my intention is, that the same shall be for her sole and separate use, notwithstanding her coverture, or whether she be covert or sole; and I do give my executors so much right and power therein as may be necessary to render my intention effectual in that respect only. This provision

for my daughter is not made out of any disrespect I have for her husband.

And lastly, it is my desire that this, my present codicil, be annexed to, and considered as part of, my last will and testament to all intents and purposes.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this twenty-third day of June, Anno [SEAL.] Domini one thousand Seven hundred and eighty nine.

B. FRANKLIN.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the above named Benjamin Franklin to be a codicil to his last will and testament, in the presence of us.

FRANCIS BAILEY,
THOMAS LANG,
ABRAHAM SHOEMAKER.

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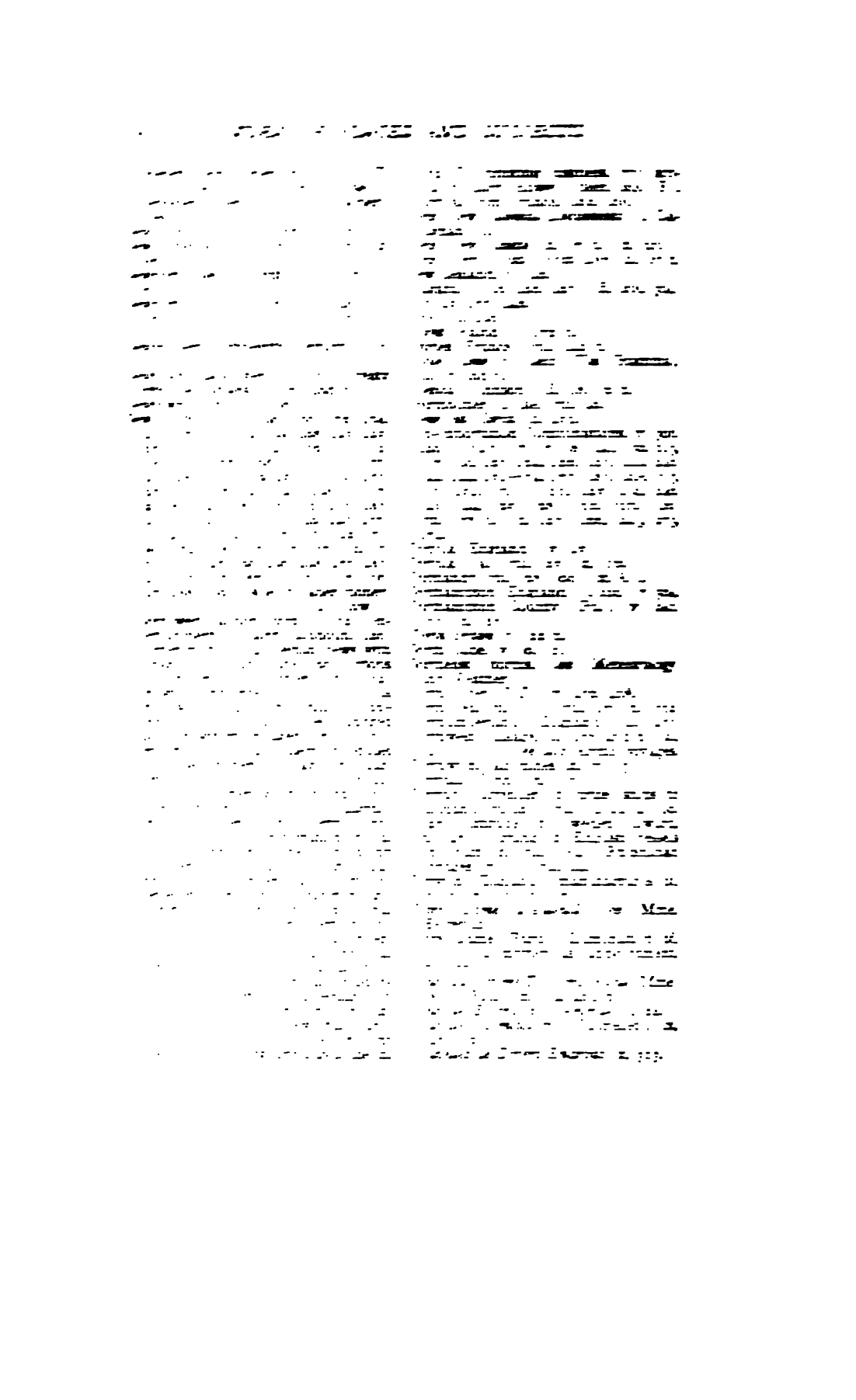

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